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E L I J A H W A R D

[OF NEW YORK.]

A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

BY

ROBERT HADFIELD.

A NEW EDITION.

NEW YORK:

G. W. CARLETON & CO., PUBLISHERS.

LONDON S. LOW, SON & CO.

M.DCCC.LXXVII.

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205-213 East 12th St.,
NEW YORK.

TO THE

C O N S T I T U E N T S

OF THE

H O N . E L I J A H W A R D , M . C . ,

EIGHTH CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT, NEW YORK,

THIS SKETCH

*OF HIS PUBLIC SERVICES IS RESPECTFULLY
DEDICATED.*

TO THE READER.

THE honorable career of Elijah Ward, his earnest support of the Government during the late civil war, and his sound views on leading financial, commercial and other questions, would seem to render a sketch of his public services not inappropriate. His recent re-election to the House of Representatives of the United States, affords a suitable occasion on which to present to his constituents and the public, the accompanying record of his Congressional career.

DECEMBER, 1874.

ELIJAH WARD.

THE name of Ward is of Scandinavian origin, and passed with the Northmen to Normandy. Two of the principal chiefs, "de la Warde," and "Warde," accompanied William the Conqueror into England, and were engaged in the Battle of Hastings.

The Honorable Andrew Ward, from whom the Wards of Westchester County, in the State of New York are descended, migrated from Suffolk, in England, to New England, in 1630, in company with a number of families of that county, including that of Mr. (afterwards Governor) Winthrop. He first settled at Watertown, Massachusetts, where, five years afterwards, he, with others, was appointed by the General Court to form a government in Connecticut. In the following year, he and his associates held the first court; and "he made the first law, and tried the first cause in it." He was for several years a judge or magistrate, and, at different periods, a deputy or member of both branches of the General Court of that colony. The historian of Connecticut, referring to him and his colleagues, says: "They were the civil and religious fathers of the colony, who assisted in forming its free and happy constitution : were among its legislators, and some of the chief pillars of the church and commonwealth, who, with many others of the same excellent character, employed their abilities and their estates, for the prosperity of the colony."

In 1641, differences of opinion arose on certain questions of civil and religious liberty, and the views of Mr. Ward, as to its value, be-

ing more consistent than those of the constituted authorities of the day, he, with several of his friends, removed to Stamford, and, in 1643, purchased the town of Hempstead, L. I., then a part of the colony of New Amsterdam. The following year they formally landed at Hempstead Harbor, now Roslyn, L. I., and founded the village of Hempstead; but, having some difficulty with the Dutch authorities, Mr. Ward returned to Connecticut, was appointed a magistrate, and closed a long and useful life in 1659.

Some of his children removed to Westchester County, and to them the Wards of that region owe their origin. The name is one of the most distinguished in the annals of the county, and many members of the family have held prominent positions in the state and nation.

Elijah Ward was born at Sing Sing, Westchester County, and is about fifty-six years of age. He is the son of Israel Ward, now deceased, who married a daughter of the late John Rossel, of the same county. Young Ward was sent to the village academy, where he received an academic education, and at an early age developed a taste for books and the acquisition of knowledge. He was interested in many subjects; but, political economy, history, and biography, were his favorites, more especially the latter, wherein youth can trace the progressive steps by which men attain high public, political and social eminence; and, if ambitious, may learn to follow successful and illustrious examples. His industry and perseverance in self-culture, gave him, in addition to the results of his academic studies, a large fund of general information of much use to him in after life. Having an early predilection for the legal profession, he decided upon adopting it. His kinsman, Major General Aaron Ward, then a representative in congress, and a leading member of the bar in Westchester County, proposed taking him into his office. The offer was peculiarly favorable, and was warmly appreciated; but, with the spirit of self-reliance which has been the main spring of his success, young Ward resolved that, as such a step

would make him somewhat dependent, he would rely upon his own efforts, until he should thus be enabled to pursue his intended studies.

In the spring of 1833, he went to the city of New York to seek employment. On the day after his arrival, he was engaged by Mr. John S. McKibben, then a prominent and much respected merchant, with whom he remained up to the time when he was enabled to direct his attention exclusively to his chosen profession.

Meanwhile he became thoroughly conversant with business transactions, thus acquiring knowledge which was afterwards of great value to him in the practice of the law, and developing the deep interest in mercantile affairs and men, which has always been an animating principle of his public life. So long as he was with Mr. McKibben, he devoted his time, after the hours of business, to mental improvement. Under competent instructors he unremittingly pursued a course of classical, philosophical and practical studies; thus laying the foundation of much that was useful and characteristic in his future successful career. He kept steadily in mind the profession he had marked out for himself,—and, in 1838, while yet a clerk, attended the Law School in the University of New York, then numbering among its professors the Honorable William Kent, the Honorable Benjamin F. Butler, and David Graham.

In January, 1839, Mr. Ward was elected President of the "Mercantile Library Association," an institution then, as now, contributing much to the advancement of the intellectual character of the merchants of New York.—and of no little utility to the community of the city at large. Even at that time it numbered more than 5,300 members. During the term of his office, it attained a higher degree of prosperity than in any preceding year of its existence. He was tendered a nomination for re-election, but declined it in consequence of the intended change in his occupation.

In February, 1840, he entered, as a student, the law office of the Honorable William W. Campbell. In May, 1843, having completed the prescribed term of legal study, he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court and Court of Chancery. Immediately after his admission he became the law partner of Mr. Campbell. In 1848, he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the United States. During the partnership, Mr. Campbell was counsel to the Alms House Commissioners, held the office of Commissioner in Bankruptcy, was appointed a Master in Chancery, and was elected to Congress as representative from the city of New York. The principal part of the business, therefore, necessarily devolved upon Mr. Ward. Through the advantages derived from his former commercial pursuits, an extensive acquaintance among merchants, and a steady and earnest devotion to his profession, together with the high character and eminent ability of his associate, the firm, in a few years, attained a most lucrative and successful practice; and, on the elevation of Mr. Campbell to the Bench of the Superior Court of the City of New York, in 1850, Mr. Ward succeeded to the business.

In May, 1845, he received a commission as Judge-Advocate of the Second Brigade, with the rank of major. In May, 1848, he became Judge-Advocate of the First Division, N. Y. S. M., with the rank of colonel; and, in January, 1853, was appointed by Governor Horatio Seymour, Judge-Advocate General of the State, with the rank of brigadier-general.

Upon his promotion to the position of Division Judge-Advocate, the Second Brigade Staff, on the 4th of July, 1848, presented to him, through General George P. Morris, a beautiful *gorget* of gold, with appropriate ceremonies, at the quarters of General Sandford, in the presence of the field staff officers of the First Division.

When he was advanced to the position of Judge Advocate General, the division staff "being unwilling to close their military relations without testifying, in some suitable manner, their esteem

for him as an officer," presented him with a costly and handsome sword, "as evidence of the cordial and friendly regard of those who had the best opportunity of witnessing General Ward's devotion to the military service of the State."

Soon after the incorporation of Texas into the American Union, open hostilities between the United States and Mexico ensued. The acquisition of New Mexico and California, by the treaty of peace with Mexico led to the proposal in Congress that "no part of the territory acquired shall be open to the introduction of slavery." No such proviso was necessary, as slavery there was already prohibited by the laws of Mexico, and could not be instituted until the existing laws had been repealed, and special enactments provided for its establishment were passed. The proviso was not adopted, but it led to a violent sectional agitation that distracted and divided the country, until the passage of the Act of 1850, known as the compromise bill.

For several years during these dissensions, General Ward continued to devote himself to the practice of the law, and, although always a democrat, kept aloof from the divisions in his party, and deplored their existence; but when, in 1853, schism again arose, the prominence of his position rendered it necessary that he should take one side or the other, and he identified himself more fully with the National Democracy, whose principles were most in consonance with his own. At this time, his active political career began.

Hitherto he had neither sought, nor desired political advancement; but had often refused the solicitations of his personal friends, to enter upon the arena of public life, believing that the bar itself afforded a sufficiently wide field for distinction, and that the faithful performance of his professional duties admitted of no other concurrent pursuits. Now, the dangers which arose from bitter sectional and partizan sentiments and have since culminated in war, began more and more forcibly to command his attention, and soon secured

his earnest and active services in behalf of his country. Educated in the revolutionary and national traditions of his family, he deemed the welfare of the whole Union, the proper object of his best efforts as a citizen, and believed that the federal constitution, loyally and intelligently administered, amply provided alike for security and progress.

The expediency of repealing the laws which prohibited the admission of new slave States, north of the Missouri line—thirty-six degrees and six minutes of north latitude—into the Union, was much doubted by many prominent Democrats, among others General Ward; but as Congress, under the lead of the Honorable Stephen A. Douglas, had, in 1854, repealed the prohibition, it was deemed advisable to regard the measure as a fact already determined. In June of that year, General Ward, being desirous of enabling Senator Douglas to give a full expression of his opinions on the state of public affairs, and of uniting the National Democracy in the support of his views, gave a complimentary entertainment to him, at which a large number of the leaders of that party were present.

In addressing Senator Douglas, General Ward bore emphatic testimony to the progressive characteristics of the Democratic party, and the fidelity of it, and the people at large, to the Union. He said :

"The great success of the Democratic party in times past, is attributable to its rigid adherence to a strict construction of the constitution, its national character in regarding all parts of the country as equally entitled to the rights and privileges provided by the constitution, and its sympathy with, and devotion to, the interests of the people. It is a party of rational and sound progress, and keeps pace with the advancement of mankind. It believes the people may be safely entrusted with power; that man is approaching to a state of greater perfectability, and that even ancient laws may be modified to meet the progressive spirit of the age.

"The people are devoted to the Union of the States, and they are determined that nothing shall destroy the beauty and harmony of the whole. They regard the Government as having been placed here by an all wise Providence, for an example that is gradually to spread its influence until the people, everywhere, are impressed with the great fact, that they should be the true source of power, and that Government is constituted for all, and not for privileged classes. They believe

that our country has a great mission to accomplish, and that its great destiny can only be attained through union, that in union is the source of its commercial and political grandeur and power, and that all minor questions sink into insignificance compared with its great future."

The Legislature of the State of New York, by an act passed the 17th of June, 1853, authorized the Commander in Chief of the State to confer brevet rank upon the officers of the New York regiment of volunteers who served in the war with Mexico. The duty of presenting the commission devolved upon General Ward. The ceremony took place on the 29th of July, 1854, at the Astor House, in the presence of Major-General Quitman, the commander of the volunteers, and the first American Governor of Mexico, together with several other distinguished officers and civilians. After referring in high terms to the bravery of the gallant New York regiment, General Ward availed himself of this opportunity of expressing his views as to the inexpediency and danger of maintaining a large standing army, and in favor of the American volunteer system, in the following terms :

"Our volunteer service always has been, and is one of the most important and interesting features of our political system, and deserves all possible encouragement from our General and State governments. The citizens of this country entertain a deep-seated prejudice against a large standing army. The sentiment has arisen from the admonition contained in the history of other nations; it dates from the earliest period in our history as a government, and has grown and been strengthened with its rapid and unparalleled growth. Our distant position from the powerful nations of the Old World, and the ready and cheerful obedience of our citizens to the laws, render a large permanent army unnecessary. In its place, however, we have all the elements necessary to create at any moment an army adequate to the greatest emergencies of the government. These elements are to be found among the brave, skillful and scientific officers now in our regular service, many of whose names are already high on the scroll of fame, in the military academy, the nursery of the highest order of military science, tactics and knowledge, and in the patriotic devotion of our citizens. The commencement of each war in which our country has been engaged has witnessed a large body of our citizens, of all classes and professions, and of every business, leaving their ordinary avocations for the public service; and the return of peace has witnessed their retirement to the quiet and peaceful pursuits of private life."

In August, 1855, General Ward was a delegate to the State Convention of the National Democracy, then held at Syracuse, and was

appointed Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions. The resolutions reported by him, and adopted by the convention, were comprehensive; embraced the leading principles for which the National Democracy were contending; reflected dignity upon the convention; and met the approval of his party and conservative men.

In October of the same year, he was elected President of the Young Men's National Democratic Club, composed of a large number of the influential, active and energetic young men of the party, and which did most effective work in the political campaigns of that period.

In 1856, he was a delegate to the Democratic Convention at Cincinnati, which nominated the Honorable James Buchanan, for President, and the Honorable John C. Breckenridge, for Vice-President. In the great contest which took place in that body, between the rival divisions of the New York Democracy, his efforts in favor of a harmonious and honorable settlement of the differences, with a view to the unity of the party in the coming struggle, did much to produce the satisfactory result that ensued.

The same year he was chosen by a large plurality, a representative in Congress, from the VIIth Congressional District, composed of the ninth, sixteenth, and twentieth wards of the city of New York, which then, and during the time he represented it, had a republican majority. His competitors were the Honorable George Briggs, of the "Native American" party, and General James W. Nye, a Republican. Pursuant to his election, he took his seat as member of the XXXVth Congress, on the first Monday of December, 1857.

During his first term in Congress, no member made a more desirable reputation as a legislative statesman; or, more and warmer friends. No other became so familiar with public men of all parties, and from every part of the United States. His speeches were upon subjects of substantial interest, and such important points as were immediately before Congress. All of them were characterized by

much condensed and solid information, followed by a terseness and accuracy of reasoning which carried conviction to the minds of those who heard him.

Strongly impressed with the knowledge that slavery would never permanently exist in the territories, then owned by the United States; that by the simple laws of climate, and of profit and loss, slaveholders, and the institution of slavery, could only remain in regions more congenial to it; Gen. Ward earnestly bent his best efforts toward securing a peaceful solution of the question, on which so embittered a controversy had arisen. Nothing but the silent operation of natural causes, for so long a period of time, was needed to insure the triumph of freedom without injury to either race, or the people of either part of the Union. He saw the dangers inseparable from pressing the decision to an immediate issue by congressional enactments, and believed the dictate of sound policy was that legislation, the cause of such constant sectional agitation, and fraught with so serious consequences to the peace and harmony of the Union should, so far as possible, be left to the people of the territories, and of the new states to be formed out of them. He lamented the sectional and political excitement, engendered by the angry debates and frequent misrepresentations of parties not always disinterested on a subject in itself so simple and easy of settlement, and saw that the bond of fraternal intercourse and sentiments, which should always exist between the residents in the different parts of our common country, was already weakened. He believed the Democratic party to be the only one that properly appreciated and guarded all the great purposes for which our government was founded, that while it sought to protect individuals in the full enjoyment of their personal privileges, and to preserve and extend civil and religious liberty, it maintained a strict observance of constitutional rights and obligations, and wisely fostered the great commercial, agricultural and mechanical interests of the nation.

Holding these views, he addressed the House of Representatives on

the 31st of March, 1858, on the "Nationality of the Democratic party and its importance to the Union." He urged the necessity of investing the people of Kansas with the power of exercising the functions of a State government, so that Congress might be relieved from further interference, and the people be left "perfectly free to form and complete their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

The citizens of Kansas, had an opportunity of voting for delegates to form the constitution; but many of them refused to exercise that right, or be bound by the reciprocal obligation of the trust reposed in them. The character of the Constitution was as democratic as that of other States. One of the provisions was, that the people should "at all times, have an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their form of government in such manner as they may think proper." Opposition to such a Constitution, seemed to him an omen of evil. He called on the Anti-Lecompton Democrats to pause in the step they were about to take, warning them—how wisely subsequent events demonstrated—that the sectional triumph they were striving to accomplish, might bring in its train, such calamities as could only be conjectured. He said:

"The public welfare, the repose of the nation, and, indeed, every consideration that can influence the patriot and lover of his country, demand that this subject should be promptly dismissed from the halls of Congress. Kansas admitted, the people of the territory will then adjust their own internal affairs, peace be restored, a more natural and healthful flow of immigration than that sent forward by the emigrant aid societies will occur, and peaceful pursuits will be cultivated, instead of the warlike amusements now threatened. If Kansas should not be admitted, the excitement now pervading the country will be continued; the subject will again be presented to Congress, impeding all legislation during the next session, and perhaps in the one following it; the waves of anger and embittered feeling rolling higher and higher. It does not require a prophetic spirit to foretell the disastrous consequences that may ensue."

Confident that slavery in the territories, left to the operation of natural causes, would soon perish, General Ward hoped that by pursuing the calm and magnanimous course which is so often the best policy in great affairs, the people in all parts of our country

might avoid the calamities of the war, through which they have since passed. He said :

"Once firmly established and acted upon in good faith, slavery will be left to the law of climate and soil to control it. This law, which has been silently working since the adoption of the constitution, has caused the abolition of slavery in six of the original states, and either abolished or prohibited it in nine of the new states since admitted, and which has now brought to us two, if not more, free states for admission into the Union, thereby destroying the equilibrium between the slave and free states, imposes, in my judgment, a higher duty upon the national democracy of the north than has hitherto existed, to see that the compromises of the Constitution are maintained, and the rights of the states secured. Its action in the past is a guarantee for the future."

In conclusion, General Ward used the following words :

"I love my whole country: it is with regret that I see contrasts presented, attempting to show the greater prosperity of one section or class over another. We are one aggregated whole—what adds to one part strengthens the other. Our power and greatness as a nation result from combination, and from that alone must it increase and be carried on in the fulfillment of its great future."

When he became a member of the House of Representatives, the historical case of Judge Watrous, of the United States District Court in Texas, had engaged its attention during several sessions. The questions involved in it were those of the independence and integrity of the judiciary, and due regard to the sacred right of petition. The State of Texas, through its legislatures, had made ample examination into the charges against Judge Watrous, and, being fully convinced that he had been corruptly interested in the results of various suits in his court, asked a just investigation from Congress, and that, if the guilt of the accused were established, he should be removed from the high office, of which he had abused the trusts. He was charged with having endeavored, for his personal profit, to give validity, through the court in which he presided, to certificates of title covering nearly twenty-four millions of acres of land, and with being directly or indirectly interested in the chief suits brought before him.

On the 4th of December, 1858, General Ward addressed the House, presenting a full, effective and impartial statement of the acts of Judge Watrous, and strenuously urged the necessity of main-

taining honesty and purity in the national courts, and of holding corrupt judges to due responsibility. He insisted that the right of petition should be maintained, and that the exercise of this essential institution of republicanism should be treated with proper consideration by those who are elected to represent the rights and interests of the people. The sources whence the charges emanated were such that a fair investigation into their character was due, not only to the dignity and purity of judicial position, and to the people at large, but also to the accused, who, if innocent, should be allowed an opportunity of vindication and acquittal. "Until that is done," said General Ward, "his usefulness as a judge is gone, his honor tarnished, and his integrity impeached."

The importance, to this country and the world, of a ship canal to connect the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, has for many years engaged the attention of General Ward, and, on the 15th of February, 1859, he delivered an elaborate speech upon it, in the House of Representatives. After referring, with great warmth, to the interest, he, personally, and as the representative of a constituency, to which the progress of commerce was of vital importance, felt in increased facilities for the transfer of property, and the intercourse of mankind by means of railroad and canal communications, he explained the magnificent project of a ship canal across the Isthmus, between the two great American continents, at such a cost as would yield a reasonable profit.

Having shown that the chief nations of the world had, from the earliest historical period, desired to participate in the trade of the East, and that the country controlling it had for that time held a commercial supremacy over all others, he specified the advantages the United States would gain in the contest for this great and increasing trade, by cutting a canal from ocean to ocean, and thus placing our country in a central position between the commercial nations of Europe and those of the Orient.

Entering into a minute calculation, he demonstrated that, accord-

ing to the official statistics of the United States for 1857, the saving to our trade for that year would, if the canal had been completed, have been \$35,995,930, and that the annual saving to the world during the next ten years would be \$99,060,416, with a certainty of continual additions. The estimated cost of the canal was \$73,687,-141, by way of the Atrato and Truando Rivers. He showed, by valuable tables, the great economy that could be effected in every voyage from New York to various important ports by the proposed work, in comparison with the present routes. San Francisco alone would then be nearer to the commercial metropolis by fourteen thousand miles, than by way of Cape Horn; and on every outward voyage, an average saving of at least ten thousand miles would be made to China, India, Japan, the Sandwich Islands, British Australia, the Dutch, English and French East Indies, New Zealand, Alaska, the Russian possessions on the Pacific, the western coast of Mexico, Chile and Peru. Including the return trip, the saving would be doubled. The attainment of such great results would give an extraordinary impulse to the commerce of the United States and other nations.

Important and remunerative as the work would be, he thought it was of a magnitude too vast to be assumed without the aid of the government. He, therefore, proposed that, if necessary, Congress should guarantee the payment of interest on the capital, from year to year, as required for completion of the undertaking, and presented calculations, based on the amount of trade at the date when he spoke, showing that the saving to the United States alone, during the first year, when the canal was in operation, would be \$8,500,000 more than the whole interest on the expenditures for twelve years. He presented computations proving that the yearly saving to England would be \$9,950,348, to France, \$2,183,930, to the United States, \$35,995,930, and to other countries, \$1,400,000—an aggregate of \$49,530,208 annually. Hence there were good reasons for believing that England and France would be desirous of being as-

sociated with the United States in solving this great problem of the age. Thus the cost and responsibility to each would be moderate; no international jealousy or exclusive policy would interfere with it; and the leading nations of the world would consult their own interests by guaranteeing its neutrality and safety in time of war.

He urged that the work would be a sound and proper investment for the United States to make, even if double the estimated cost were needful, in consequence of the increased benefits the new means of transit would confer upon commerce—the great lever which conquers and maintains peace, and tends to bind the nations of the earth in perpetual amity.

The speech was peculiarly instructive. It initiated in Congress a movement of vast moment to the national prosperity, and became the daily talk among thinking men, especially in mercantile and diplomatic circles. The events of the war diverted attention, but the stupendous undertaking was delayed, not abandoned. It is acquiring increased interest in the public mind, and renewed official investigations, as to its cost and practicability, have recently been made.

During his first term in Congress, General Ward devoted himself to the consideration of several other practical and important questions. Upon his return home he was cordially welcomed by his friends and constituents, who assembled in large force to testify their esteem and respect for him, and tender their congratulation upon his fidelity to their interest, and the various trusts confided to his care. In October, 1858, he was nominated for re-election. His competitor was the Hon. George Briggs, who united the Native American, and Republican nominations, by the withdrawal of Augustus F. Dow, the candidate of the latter organization. At the election in the following November, the vote for General Ward exceeded that of 1856, when he was first elected; but the perfect union of the two other parties in favor of his opponent, made the odds too great to be overcome, and he was defeated.

Soon after the expiration of the first congressional term in 1859, President Buchanan tendered General Ward a foreign mission, a distinction which, while cordially appreciated, was respectfully declined in consequence of an intention to engage more actively in his professional career, which had been partially interrupted by the pressure of public duties. His relations with the President were of a most friendly and agreeable character, and he gave to the administration during the XXXVth Congress, a personal devotion and disinterested support which was at all times duly recognized.

In 1860, General Ward was nominated for Congress, by the Mozart and Breckenridge organizations, Udolpho Wolfe by the Tammany Hall branch of the party, the Hon. George Briggs, by the supporters of Bell and Everett, and Augustus F. Dow by the Republicans. General Ward and Mr. Wolfe, submitted to a conference committee, mutually chosen, the question, which of the two should remain in the field. The decision was in favor of General Ward, and Mr. Wolfe, withdrew from the canvass. Mr. Briggs then also withdrew from the contest, and his friends united in support of General Ward, who was chosen over Mr. Dow by a majority of 2,397.

In 1862, he was again nominated for re-election by the democratic party. His competitors were the Hon. Frederick A. Conkling, radical republican, and Orison Blunt, conservative republican. General Ward was elected by a large plurality, and had a majority of 1,107 over both opponents.

From his earliest study of the history of his country, General Ward had believed the decisive course taken in 1833 by Andrew Jackson, in reference to the ordinance of nullification, passed by a convention assembled in South Carolina, was the true precedent for action whenever any attempt to dissolve the Union might be made. He held with Jackson, that "the rights of a people of a single State to absolve themselves at will, and without the consent of other States, from their most solemn obligations, and hazard the liberties of the millions composing this Union, cannot be acknowledged;"

that, "compared to disunion, all other evils are light, because that alone brings with it an accumulation of all; that, if by the offensive act of any State, the crime of shedding of a brother's blood should fall upon our land, the unanimity with which the decision of the people would be expressed in favor of the Union, would be such as to inspire new confidence in republican institutions, and that the prudence, the wisdom, and the courage, which it would bring to their defence, would transmit them unimpaired and invigorated to our children." General Ward, held that these views constituted the only reliable rule of policy for the democratic party and the nation at large, and hoped that the happy sequel to the bold and merciful action of President Jackson, would safely guide President Buchanan to like results. Hence he deeply deplored, as encouraging to secessionists, and fraught with the utmost danger to the people in all parts of the country, the declaration of Buchanan, in his message of December, 1860, and in advance of the momentous occasion, that Congress had no power, by force of arms, to compel a State to remain in the Union. Mr. Buchanan was among the last of the survivors of a race of men, who in their day, regarded themselves as faithful guardians of the Constitution and the Union. As a member of the House of Representatives, a Senator, Minister to England, Secretary of State and President, he was entitled to the highest consideration of his countrymen. When many other eminent men in the North, wavered as to the course of action proper to adopt in the then existing crisis; with his constitutional advisers divided upon the issues of the day, it is perhaps, not surprising that he erred in his views, from a desire for a peaceful preservation of the Union. General Ward, was of the opinion that if the President had pursued a similar course to that of General Jackson, and appealed to Congress to give him men and money, for the coming emergency, it would not only have checked the seditious acts of the Southern men; but closed his administration with a popularity rarely equalled.

General Ward promptly recognized the facts that the Govern-

ment did not begin the war, and that the seceded States, at the time the rebellion was inaugurated, had nothing of which they could complain, that none of their prerogatives had been interfered with; none of their citizens had been burthened by taxation, and all their rights and institutions were under the protection of the United States. He held that they had gone out from among us under the pretense that they foresaw in the future, they should lose their just political power and influence in the Union; and, acting upon this self-imposed delusion, had drawn the sword wantonly and willfully upon the Government and loyal people of the United States. Deeply impressed with these convictions, he took his seat in the XXXVIIth Congress, at the extra session beginning on the 4th of July, 1861, and gave a firm and consistent support to all well-devised efforts to crush the rebellion. This session was entirely devoted to placing the army and navy in the requisite condition and supplying the other urgent necessities created by the war.

The injustice of withholding from New York those rights of coinage, which were granted to places so remote from the channels of trade, and so seldom named as Dahlonega and Charlotte, is one of the most flagrant wrongs existing under the Government of the United States. General Ward, who when in Congress was pre-eminently the commercial representative of the National emporium of trade, strenuously exposed this costly grievance, and urged the needful reform. In 1862, the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, presented to Congress a memorial, setting forth the importance of conferring upon the United States assay office in the City of New York, the privilege of coining with the national currency, such portions of gold and silver bullion, as may be deposited with the Treasurer at New York for that purpose; and on the 15th of May, General Ward from the Committee on Commerce, made to the House of Representatives, a report in favor of the prayer of the memorial. He submitted also an act for carrying out his recommendations. Before impartial judges the opening paragraph of the

report, would by itself, have been sufficiently convincing. He said

"It should require no argument to prove that the most convenient place, for the purpose of coinage by the government of the United States, is the commercial centre towards which the chief lines of communication tend, bringing from various places, and more than to any other point, the precious metals, and distributing them again in pursuance of the natural and inevitable laws of trade. To send any article some hundreds of miles for the purpose of receiving a stamp or mark, as a guarantee that it is genuine, and returning it again to the place whence it was sent, and where it is to be sold or used, is so self-evidently an useless and improper expenditure of public money that little more is deemed necessary than to state the facts of this case in the form of accurate statistics. Tried by the plain rules guiding men of common prudence in every day life, the singular extravagance of the present plan is manifest. No individual would tolerate a similar wastefulness in his own business."

In the year before the report was presented, the cost of carrying gold and silver from New York, to be coined at the mint in Philadelphia had been more than \$71,755, without including the loss of time to the depositor, or the risks which, under the most favorable circumstances, are attached to the frequent transfer of large sums, sometimes amounting to \$1,000,000 at a single time. Thus the injury sustained by the public in that one year alone, was fairly estimated at \$100,000, the full amount of the appropriation named in the bill under consideration, and enough to put the present assay office in complete order for coining all the gold and silver that will probably be offered for that purpose by owners and depositors at New York for several years to come.

The report contained brief statements of the increase of the trade of New York, its proportion to that of the other trade of the country, and of the amounts of bullion annually received in that city. The whole amount of coinage at the two mints of Dahlonega and Charlotte, since their commencement in 1838 to 1861, was only \$11,039,034, little more than two-thirds of the average amount sent, at great expense, from the assay office in New York, for coinage each year of its existence.

In the seven preceding fiscal years, the amount of gold mined in the United States, and received at the assay office in New York was some twelve times greater than that received at the mint in Phila-

adelphia; while the amounts of foreign coin and bullion received at the ports of New York and Philadelphia respectively, during the six years ending June 30, 1860, were more than ninety-eight times as large at New York as at Philadelphia. Those who have paid most attention to the subject will best understand the significance of the following suggestions:

"The full importance of coinage at New York, the central focus for trade in the precious metals on this, the chief continent for their production, may never be perceived until the leading commercial nations of the world have adopted a uniform system of decimal coinage, a project which is already regarded with much favor by many thoughtful and philanthropic individuals in various countries, and would conduce greatly to the advantage of mankind, by facilitating commerce, and rendering the common representative of value in every nation intelligible to every civilized man. A greatly increased proportion of the bullion arriving at New York would then be coined there, if the desired facilities for that purpose are granted, and would become a universal currency throughout the globe."

Few propositions were ever more clearly established than the one announced at the conclusion of the report, that "a faithful performance of the trusts confided to Congress by the Constitution of the United States, requires that necessary facilities for coinage should be established in the City of New York, where bullion can be coined with the greatest degree of economy to the government, and the greatest degree of convenience to the largest number of our citizens."

It is one of the most striking instances of the favoritism of our times, and of the power exercised by local or special interests at the expense of the nation at large, that Congress did not comply with the reasonable recommendations made, and incontrovertibly supported through General Ward. The war intervened, and recourse to a paper currency, rendering coinage less necessary for the time, gave to unjust legislators a power with which the reformers were unable to cope. On a return to specie payment, the subject will attract renewed attention. The statistical facts enumerated in the report were generally copied into the metropolitan papers. The comments were unanimous, and their character may be inferred

from the apt and humorous illustration given in the *Independent*. It said :

"General Ward, M. C., from New York, has reported from the House Committee on Commerce, a bill, authorizing the coinage of gold and silver in this city, the spot where nine-tenths of the bullion and foreign coin are first received. No *business* man would think of opposing such a movement, if it related to his own personal affairs; but politicians, it is now generally supposed, sometimes legislate as though they had neither talent nor brains. Our Government, in this special matter, acts like the man who built a saw-mill on the prairie, and then drew all his logs twenty-five miles to saw them."

The early connection of General Ward with mercantile life, and his residence and associations in the city of New York, had led him to give to commercial subjects an attention which was not excelled by any member of either House of Congress. In connection with this tendency, his legal career had not only taught him to reflect much on the proper provisions of a uniform bankrupt law throughout the United States, but had filled him with sympathy for the honest sufferers with whom he had been brought into communication, and enabled him to see that what was a measure of mercy to such debtors, would almost invariably be also a source of quick justice to creditors. His exertions in favor of such a measure began in 1858, as soon as he entered Congress; and in 1859, when not a member, he had personally endeavored to induce the congressional committee, to which the subject had been referred, to lose no time in recommending this valuable legislative reform. It was owing to his efforts that the committee did not report adversely.

The number of those who were unable to pay their debts, and whose lives were as hopeless for themselves as for their creditors, had for many years increased gradually; but, soon after the rebellion began, additional thousands of men became insolvent, from the pressure of a national calamity as unexpected by them as if it had been a sudden conflagration. The leading merchants of New York and Boston, through their commercial associations, expressed their opinion that measures of relief would be peculiarly in harmony

with the beneficent institutions of a wise and liberal republic. General Ward was one of the foremost among those who advocated such a law as would give to each creditor a fair proportion of the assets of the bankrupt, and sharply and decisively define how first settlements between debtors and creditors should be made.

A sketch of his public career can be little more than a record of efforts to bring every day life and national affairs into legitimate harmony with reasonable and humane sentiments. Full of faith in this rule of life, he unremittingly served the cause of a bankrupt law with even more than his usual zeal. It commended itself to him, no less through his impartial judgment, than his earnest sympathies.

In 1862, much disappointment was felt at the postponement, by Congress, until December in that year, of all consideration of the bill reported by the special committee, "to establish a uniform system of bankruptcy throughout the United States;" and he deemed it his duty to bring forward the chief points of the question to a fair and just consideration of the representatives of the people.

In a speech delivered in the House of Representatives on the 3d day of June, 1862, he illustrated the subject by his customary use of statistics, so comprehensive, that they could not mislead. He traced the ruinous effects of the various expansions and contractions of the currency, and argued that, as the causes of the then recent insolvencies were for the most part entirely political, the unfortunate men "who have thus been ruined should no more be punished for these misfortunes than for any of the numerous accidents to which mankind are liable."

He briefly presented the chief facts of the case in the following paragraph, saying :

"The present indebtedness of the southern to the northern states is carefully estimated to be about \$300,000,000, of which \$159,000,000 are due to the City of New York; \$24,000,000 to Philadelphia; \$19,000,000 to Baltimore; and \$7,600,000 to Boston. By the losses thus incurred, many men of honor and integrity, whose means of meeting all their pecuniary engagements were as little doubted by them-

selves as by all who knew them, are undergoing the slow torture of mercantile failure—hopeless and lifelong, if they be not relieved by the government of their country. In not a few cases, the amount of their debts is many times less than that due to them by their former customers in the southern states. Last year, in the City of New York, nine hundred and thirteen mercantile houses became insolvent, whose separate liabilities were in no case under \$50,000, and in some instances, amounted to several millions. Out of two hundred and sixty-six leading dry goods houses reported sound when the rebellion began, only sixteen remain, and their condition is precarious. These firms cannot well be spared from our commercial circles at this present crisis. The common rules of humanity require our sympathy in their behalf, and no less do justice and a regard for the interests of the republic, require that, after a strict examination of the affairs of each insolvent, if he uprightly and honorably surrenders his property for the benefit of his creditors, he shall be permitted to begin the world anew."

The following extract is a fair illustration of his characteristic reasoning, in which the facts of statistics and deductions from the principles of humanity and justice are harmoniously blended. He said :

"It is estimated that throughout our great commercial cities, in ordinary times, five per cent. of the persons engaged in business fail every year. Ninety-five per cent. of our chief business men become insolvent at least once in their life-times, and most of those who ultimately succeed, have, at some time, passed through the same ordeal, and been dependent upon the leniency or indulgence of their creditors. In many, perhaps in most cases, the honest debtor is met by his creditor in the spirit of justice. Creditors who adopt this line of action will surely not complain of a law making the course they pursue obligatory upon other creditors, thus preventing fraudulent and preferential assignments, and much expensive litigation and delay."

Having stated the result of his own observation to be that in ninety cases out of a hundred where compromise had been offered immediately after failure and repelled, the creditors would afterwards be glad if they could compromise the debt on less favorable terms, but usually fail to realise anything—the debt becoming a total loss, he said :

"An attempt to settle with their creditors is usually one of the first efforts on the part of those who become insolvent. If the debtor fails in this, through the want of concurrence among his creditors, and the claims against him are pressed, he foresees long years of thraldom and embarrassment, and his next impulse is to secure provisions for himself and family. In his despair of meeting with justice, he often has recourse to many subterfuges, few of which ever reach the public ear; but the common course is to make a preferential assignment, permitted by law, thus placing his assets in the hands of one or more friends, from whom he hopes to

obtain employment or assistance in business, or, perhaps, support and money from the actual proceeds. The remainder of his creditors remain unsatisfied, and he bids them defiance. Creditors, on the other hand, fearing assignments of this kind, often submit to compromises which they know to be unjust. A proper bankrupt law, prohibiting these assignments, would diminish, if it did not destroy, such dangers, and thus befriend the creditor. In many cases, through these assignments, or by other means, the debtor is tempted to keep all he can until some such terms as he thinks favorable, can be effected. From this time he leads a surreptitious and demoralizing life. Perhaps one creditor alone objects to the offers made. The debtor is determined not to pay one unless he can pay all: It is necessary his family should be maintained. Time passes, and his assets are diminished. Often the creditor fearing preferential assignments, hesitates to use legal measures. The only dividend that can now be offered seems paltry. The debtor finding that neither the world nor the world's law befriend him, and believing that the bondage of debt will be perpetual, not unfrequently sets aside the common restraints of prudence and morality, and becomes an incubus and injury to society; instead of devoting his intellect and energies to its benefit. If of a nature too scrupulous and honorable to yield readily to temptation, his sufferings are severe and constant. He endeavors to provide for those dependent upon him; but their respect for him is diminished by his own loss of conscious independence, and the change experienced in the social position of them all; arising not from the necessity of proper retrenchment—this he and they can meet—but, because society always attaches a certain degree of odium to the insolvent, who is thereby humiliated, and often so far depressed, as to cause him to resort to dissipation as a means of obtaining a temporary forgetfulness. He feels weak and degraded in the eyes of that little domestic circle of his wife and children, of those whom he is bound by every honorable and sacred instinct of his nature to maintain and defend, at all legitimate hazards, by the daily labor of his life, receiving in return, as his natural right, the cherished equivalent of their affection and respect. He can bestow upon them nothing more than a temporary subsistence, taking care at best that he never has at his command more than the savings of a limited number of days. The law has done all it can to make honesty no longer the best policy for him, and the only hope he has of worldly prosperity, or of competence, consists in practicing dis-honorable concealments."

The concluding words of his speech were :

" Society, itself, has at all times an interest in the subsequent life and exertions of the bankrupt. The hope or expectation of future acquisition by conducting to the industry, honesty and morality of the unfortunate debtor contributes to the welfare of the community. A due regard for the public good demands that the future acquisitions of the debtor who has faithfully surrendered all he owned for the benefit of his creditors, should be placed under his own control, and fully justifies prudent and careful enactments for that purpose."

At the present time it is difficult to realize how, in a Congress of Representatives of the American people, the passage of a bankrupt law could have been so long delayed ; but the people of the agricultural districts, in whose pursuits there is little hazard, then under-

stood less thoroughly than they now do, the sudden monetary revolution by which men of the best intentions, and of good business habits, are sometimes ruined. The imperfect operations of the previous temporary enactments had also their influence. Congress postponed the further consideration of the subject.

In the following session of Congress General Ward again took his place in the foreground in the House of Representatives as an advocate of a permanent bankrupt law, tending to prevent the waste of assets, both by its compulsory clauses and by opening out avenues of future, and hopeful employment to every debtor who passes through the ordeal with an unblemished reputation. He ably maintained that while such an enactment would be alike more profitable to the creditor, and more humane to the debtor than the customs already prevailing, it would also tend to "create and maintain a high standard of mercantile integrity and honor—a possession of inestimable value to the nation."

The importance of the commercial relations of the United States with the other nations on this continent early engaged the attention of General Ward. He saw in the free development of the material interests they have in common, the natural path to those friendly sentiments, and that homogeneity of institutions, which are essential to the most successful admission of such large populations into the Union, or to whatever other mutually beneficial arrangement may be most suitable to the occasion, when prejudice is disarmed and the influence of commerce has brought the people on both sides into profitable intercourse, and woven the powerful bands of such an alliance between them.

The treaty providing for a reciprocal trade in certain articles between this country and British North America was, for several years, mutually satisfactory; but the Canadian authorities raised the duties on manufactured goods to such an extent as to destroy its natural effects in promoting many branches of the industry of our people. In some cases the results of the new legisla-

tion were so decided that manufacturing establishments, with their machinery, capital and men, were removed from this country to Canada. In this state of affairs, the legislature of the State of New York passed concurrent resolutions, demanding a revision of the treaty, expressing approval of the principle of reciprocity, and a desire for an extension of its application. It was seen that unrestricted trade between the United States and Canada must be no less mutually beneficial than that between New York and Pennsylvania, Illinois, or any of the other states of the Union.

In 1861 General Ward presented to the House of Representatives, and ably supported the concurrent resolutions passed by the legislature of the State of New York, in favor of "the co-operation and expansion of the commercial relations between the United States and British Provinces," and declaring, that although much restrictive legislation in Canada since the enactment of the treaty had modified its natural operations, "free commercial intercourse between the United States, and the British North American Provinces and Possessions, developing the natural, geographical and other advantages of each, for the good of all, is the only proper basis of our intercourse for all time to come."

The House referred the resolutions to the Committee on Commerce, in whose behalf he prepared and presented in 1862 a more elaborate report than had ever before been made on the same topic. It was no less comprehensive in principle than accurate in detail. He saw that our commercial relations with the British Provinces were worthy of the closest investigation, not only from the importance of their territory and population, but for the yet more weighty consideration that the principles and plans necessary to a mutually satisfactory adjustment of the existing impediments to the natural development of trade with them, would have a valuable influence on the future policy of the United States, by forming the nucleus for such a system of exchanging the products of the industries of our people with other nations on this continent, as would be no less beneficial

than that of the citizens of our different states with each other; thus regarding the adoption of just measures of reciprocal trade with Canada, as the proper precursor of yet more comprehensive arrangements. He sketched the characteristics of the men of the north, and announced in the following paragraph the principle which should animate the policy of the United States towards them. He said:

"The climate and soil of these provinces and possessions, seemingly less indulgent than those of tropical regions, are precisely those by which the skill, energy and virtues of the human race, are best developed. Nature there demands thought and labor from man, as conditions of his existence, but yields abundant rewards to wise industry. Those causes, which in our age of the world, determine the wealth of nations, are those which render man most intelligently industrious; and it cannot be too often or too closely remembered in discussing subjects so vast as these, where the human mind may be misled if it attempts to comprehend them in their boundless variety of detail, that sure and safe guides in the application of political economy, and to our own prosperity, are to be found in the simple principles of morality and justice, because they are true alike in minute and great affairs, at all times, and in every place. They imply freedom for ourselves, and those rules of fraternity or equality, which enjoin us to regard our neighbors as ourselves. We can trust in no other policy."

He demonstrated, and by irrefutable statistics, not only the inconsistency of their recent legislation in Canada in connection with the treaty, but also the magnitude of the benefits which would accrue to both countries from actual reciprocity in trade; and took decided ground in favor of a zollverein or customs' union, as being the only way of attaining it, unless the people of Canada should voluntarily desire annexation to the United States. He was thus the first to introduce to the House of Representatives this project, which has since received much consideration from the press and thoughtful men in both countries.

The report attracted attention from nearly all the leading journals of the Union. It was reviewed with approbation in New York, Buffalo, Oswego, and the north western states, and met with much consideration in Canada, where, although it occupied thirty eight octavo pages, it was printed at full length in the most widely circulated newspaper of the province, accompanied by the recommenda-

tion that "it should be read and understood by every man of intelligence in Canada." The general sentiment of the Canadians at that time may be inferred from the expressions of the same journal, that "although they could live and prosper without reciprocal trade, they preferred freedom of intercourse with their American neighbors." It adopted the spirit of the report so far as to say that "apart altogether from the dissatisfaction of the Americans with the treaty, there is a desire on the part of Canadians to see it improved and extended, and therefore our government ought to be prepared to receive any proposition which the Americans may make, and consider it with respect, and a desire to come to an arrangement satisfactory to all parties." The Canadian Minister of Finance officially published, and caused to be extensively circulated, a long but ineffectual reply to the charges of the report.

The House of Representatives ordered fifteen thousand copies of the report to be printed, in addition to the usual number, and Mr. Layard, in the British House of Commons, in answer to enquiries, stated that several copies of it had been procured and would be laid upon the table, for the information of the public. It elicited favorable comments from several members of the liberal party in Great Britain.

In the following Congress the various memorials, relating to the treaty, having been referred to the Committee on Commerce, General Ward, on its behalf, made another report, exhibiting such additional facts and statistics as showed the state of trade between the United States and Canada, down to that time. He recommended that the president should be authorized to give notice of the abrogation of the treaty as soon as it might be legally done, unless, before that time, further arrangements, mutually satisfactory to both governments, should be made; and that the president be also authorized to appoint three commissioners, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, for the revision of the treaty, and to confer with other commissioners, duly authorized therefor, whenever it shall appear to be the wish of the government of Great Britain to

negotiate a new treaty, based upon these principles of reciprocity, and for the removal of existing difficulties.

The subject again excited much interest throughout the country, and on the 18th of May, 1864, in the same year, a joint resolution in accordance with the recommendation of the committee being under consideration, General Ward addressed the House. He urged that it was more reasonable and beneficial to remove whatever objectionable features then existed in connection with the trade, than to disturb the industry and investments of the large number of our citizens engaged in it, and rebuked the pretentious interference of arbitrary and compulsory legislation with the common affairs of the people, in words which, although they arose naturally from the subject, may well be regarded as a philosophical enunciation of the great general principle of trade. He said:

"Upon the plainest principles of human nature, it is clear that the individual transactions constituting the vast aggregate of this trade since 1855, and amounting to more than fifty millions of dollars in 1863 alone, must, year after year have been sufficiently profitable, to remunerate those who produced the substantial materials of the exchanges, and those who were engaged in the traffic, who in their turn, could not have continued their business if they had not found in the people at large consumers or customers, who were benefited by the purchases they made."

The subject was not discussed in a merely partisan spirit. The manner in which it was presented by General Ward ensured a more than usual exemption from this danger. He said :

"I have the satisfaction of knowing that this is no party question, and that many gentlemen on the other side of the house unite with me in efforts to establish or extend such a liberal policy towards the provinces, as shall mutually benefit both countries, uniting us together by the bonds which are the most powerful of all; those of mutual interest, well judged in necessary conformity to higher principles. I am less desirous of an union of the Government, than of an union of the people. I do not wish to admit into our family of states, any who are not imbued with the spirit of our institutions, and do not appreciate, as we do, the benefits resulting from them, or the principles on which they are established."

He deplored such a course as would again impose duties on many of the articles exempted by the treaty, and which are the simplest materials for the use of our ship builders and manufacturers, and necessities for the support of human life. The mutual exports

and imports of coal furnish one of the best possible illustrations of the principle; and he said :

" Among the most important of these materials which should be supplied to our manufacturers and people, at as low a price as possible, is coal, an essential element of household life and comfort, and the chief producer of the great labor-saving power of steam. The exports from Ohio and Pennsylvania to Upper Canada, are nearly of the same value as those of the New England States and New York, from the Lower Provinces. In Canada West, the coal from the United States has superceded that brought from Liverpool and the Lower Provinces; and, at Montreal, the anthracite of the easterly portions of Pennsylvania also competes with coal brought from Liverpool and Nova Scotia. These minerals are not found in the geological formations of Upper Canada, and, as the forests disappear, and wool becomes too valuable to be used as fuel, that part of the Provinces will ultimately depend exclusively upon the United States, for the most economical supply of this necessary article.

" Anthracite coal, although found abundantly on the eastern slope of the Alleghanies, is found no where in the colonies, and will always be imported by them, while for many purposes of fuel, in the eastern states, economy dictates the use of the coal of Nova Scotia. Bituminous coal, of the kind most commonly used in the manufacture of gas, is not found in our territory east of the Alleghany mountains, within an available distance from our chief Atlantic cities. It would be needless to say that a trade of this kind is mutually beneficial. Under a system of free trade in coal, the people of each country are supplied more cheaply than they otherwise could be with necessary light and fuel; and both save, throughout large regions, the expense and labor of carrying a heavy and bulky article for several hundreds of miles."

He gave timely and prophetic warning of the course which has been taken by Canada in consequence of the exclusive course Congress thought fit to adopt. Including the union of the provinces, the construction of intercolonial railroads, the rapid progress in home industry, by which she has become independent of our manufactures, and our competitor in neutral markets, and the liberal policy by which so large a share of our western products has been diverted over her railroads and down the St. Lawrence. He closed his speech in the following words:

" We are considering the commercial relations of one-eighth of the habitable surface of the world. Of this vast region, the United States and the people of the colonies, subject to a beneficent providence, control the present condition, and shape the future history. It has been given to us in the advanced condition of human civilization, as a new parchment, on which we may inscribe whatever characters we choose; and the opportunity will never return again in all the plenitude of the present time. With nations, as with individuals, those habits and

tendencies are easily formed in youth which are afterwards developed, and control the career through long years or centuries of the future. We may differ from the people of the provinces in opinion as to the best form of government; but other nations can judge better for themselves than we can for them, as to their own method of legislation. A prohibitory or exclusive system would be no less unnatural and injurious as to every commercial, political and moral result, than if we separated New York from Massachusetts, and both of them from Ohio, Illinois, or Iowa. Let us then regulate our intercourse, not by mutual fear or destruction, but by creating, or rather developing, reciprocal benefits, in accordance with the manifest designs of Him who made the world, and who should never be mentioned except upon occasions worthy of Him. Such a system is doubly beneficial.

‘It droppeth, as the gentle dew from Heaven,
Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed.
It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.’

Under its influence, assisted by a wise application of the reason with which man is endowed, old animosities will be forgotten, and, in days to come, the people of both countries, seeing plainly that the social body of mankind, like the material body of the individual, is provided with a healing power, will find additional reasons to reverence Him by whom the universe itself was formed.”

One of the most interesting debates known in Congress, on any financial subject, ensued.

Messrs. Morill, Washburne, Winter Davis, Baxter, Pike, and others, opposed the resolution, and General Ward was ably supported by Messrs. Sweat, of Maine; Eliot, of Mass.; Arnold, of Illinois; Pryn, Littlejohn, Davis and others, of the State of New York. But the chief burden of the debate, on the liberal side, fell upon him. Mr. Sweat said that he hoped every gentleman in the House, who had not heard the speech of General Ward, would read it, for in his judgment, the views “therein set forth, are not only correct and sound, but just and wise, and worthy the careful consideration of all who would look at the subject dispassionately.” To his mind, it was the most exhaustive treatment given to any subject that had come before the House in that session. “And in this respect,” added Mr. Sweat, “I cannot forbear saying, that it presents a very wide contrast to the remarks which have been made by other gentlemen upon this question, and which, I say it in no offensive sense, have savored more of prejudice than of statesmanship.”

It was the duty of General Ward to sum up the debate, and correct

not a few extraordinary and erroneous statements which had been made by the ultra-protectionists in the course of the debate. He fulfilled his part with conscious reliance on the uncontroverted facts and principles he had brought to notice, and without descending to retaliation or invective.

An amendment submitted by Mr. Arnold, of Illinois, with a view to enlarge the basis of the present treaty, was decisively negatived. Mr. Morill, of Vermont, then offered, as a substitute for the resolution reported by General Ward, another, merely authorizing the President to give notice of the termination of the treaty, without providing for any amelioration of it. The substitute was negatived by a vote of 82 to 74.

The preamble to the resolution presented by General Ward, asserted that commercial intercourse between the United States and the British North American Provinces, should thereafter be so conducted as to be reciprocally beneficial to both parties. It was adopted, thus showing that a majority of the members of the House were in favor of the principle. The resolution also would have been carried if a few members, who, together with their constituents, were conspicuously in favor of, and especially interested in, the utmost possible freedom of exchanges between the two countries, had not been induced to believe that they would obtain better terms by postponement to the next session of Congress. But the postponement was only adopted by a majority of five out of one hundred and fifty-nine votes.

Just before the time for reconsideration arrived, the war feeling had attained increased intensity, and the exigencies and temper of the occasion threw all commercial considerations temporarily aside.

As in the House of Representatives at Washington, so also in the public press, the course suggested by General Ward, as to the proper commercial relations of the American continent, won many golden opinions from advocates of the most discordant partisan polities. The New York *World*, in several editorial articles, support-

ed his views as to the establishment of a zollverein with Canada, and urged "the Chamber of Commerce and our merchants, who are at all times desirous of information which may lead to an increase of foreign trade," to give their careful attention to his suggestions, "inasmuch as our national debt and heavy taxation render it prudent, perhaps imperative, to exercise a wise forethought in stimulating the productive energies of our people, by opening up new outlets in foreign countries." The *Times* pointed out the new and instructive information he presented, and his careful avoidance of "that hostile spirit which has so often led further and further from the proper objects of discussion, until the simple questions really at issue become hidden under heaps and incrusterations of prejudice, accumulated by the errors and hatred of many generations." The *Tribune* said that "great and pressing as the domestic questions are at this hour, it is no time to overlook matters of extrinsic but enduring interest," and that "the country owes its thanks to him for bringing so much industry and judgment to bear upon our treaty relations with Canada." The *Evening Post* commended the report to the perusal of the ultra-protectionists; and the *Journal of Commerce* testified that "it labors earnestly and honestly to promote that enlightened liberality of sentiment and mutual good-will, which it is for the interest of both parties to inculcate," adding that "its free circulation cannot fail to do good on both sides of the border; and we hope that it will be widely distributed for that purpose." The *Economist*, after alluding to his exertions in behalf of a sound bankrupt law, and an American Zollverein, said it would be unjust to General Ward and some other capable and laborious representatives and senators, not to acknowledge the fidelity and practical ability with which they applied themselves effectively to the business of the nation; and added:

"The speech of the Honorable Elijah Ward, on the commercial relations between the United States and the British North American Provinces and Possessions, is a model of statesmanly discussion. Its unpartizan spirit and breadth of view present a welcome contrast to the narrow party animus with which the great fiscal

and commercial questions of the day are now treated in Congress. Mr. Ward rises far above the common Congressional level, and in the treatment of a question that affects the interests of the whole country, discards the clamor of local interests, rebukes petty international jealousies, and calmly inquires what arrangement of the treaty can be made yielding the greatest advantages and the amplest justice to both nations concerned."

Throughout his career in Congress General Ward boldly maintained the same opinions on financial subjects as are held by that intelligent and progressive class of men who are now known to the public as Revenue Reformers. From the beginning of the monetary changes introduced in consequence of the war, he advocated such measures as it is now seen would have been most expedient for the country, and the adoption of which would have rendered present reform unnecessary. He firmly opposed the "Legal Tender" policy of Secretary Chase, and others of the party in power. The Secretary of the Treasury was led so far by the temporary pressure of the times, and the difficulties of his position, as to support by his official authority the pernicious doctrine that the decrease on the value of fictitious money, as compared with gold, was neither wholly nor for the greater part owing to the large volume of paper promises to pay.

While General Ward opposed the pernicious errors thus enunciated in high places, he fully shared in the deep anxiety with which the condition of our financial affairs, and the regulation of the circulating medium, were regarded by thoughtful people throughout the north, from motives of their own personal interest, and yet more from patriotic devotion to the cause of unity in the great struggle for national existence; and he knew that, with a large inflation of national currency, not only would the cost of war be immensely increased, and be repaid in a monetary medium of greater value, but lavish and careless expenditures would engender prodigal corruption, and the nation would be subjected to innumerable disasters, against which no human forethought could guard. Yet he did not underrate the difficulties of the occasion. When speaking on this

subject in the House of Representatives, on the 15th January, 1863, he said:

"When it was decided to adopt the principle of 'legal tender' there was no doubt that the majorities of both Houses, who voted for it, did so because they considered it the least objectionable of the measures under consideration. Here, permit me to say, that I know of no greater trial for a statesman or legislator than this,—to be compelled to choose between two measures when his judgment condemns them both; when his only course is that laid down in the common maxim of life, to 'choose the least of any number of evils.' The whole question is full of difficulties arising out of the mutations of commerce, as well as the exigencies of nations, numerous theories and suggestions have been presented by prominent citizens in various parts of the country, but all experience has demonstrated the impossibility of securing lasting prosperity for any country which persistently adheres to the use of a legalized but irredeemable paper currency."

He showed clearly and forcibly the evil effects then already produced by irredeemable issues of paper money, and that they would be further increased by additional expenses. He illustrated by the following figure, the fallacies of those who were so hardy as to say that the currency had not decreased in value:

"It is in vain to affirm that gold has risen, but paper money has not fallen. The man who is in a sinking boat might as well say that the water is rising and his boat is stationary. Let him, if he is not out of sight of land, not get engulfed above his eyes; look at the shore while he can, and see whether the water is flooding its banks. The markets of the world where we sell our products, and buy many articles in return, are the true land-marks as to the value of our currency, and they are, and must be as I have already shown, faithfully indicated by the rise and fall of the precious metals."

He entered into a careful analysis of our own financial affairs, and of various historical precedents in other countries. The result of the irredeemable paper system had then by no means reached the height it subsequently attained, but the reflecting reader will recognize in the following paragraphs a faithful photograph of the time at which General Ward spoke. He said:

"The merchant and contractor in making sales or agreements charge profit not only on the actual value of the articles they furnish, but on the value in paper money. *The Government, at the present time, pays for all it uses a premium of at least forty or fifty per cent. above its actual value, equivalent in effect, to a corresponding depreciation in our national securities.*

"The dealer, who a few months ago, sold his goods at a fair profit on time, finds himself when he is paid unable to replace his stock. From the uncertainty

attending the future, business is thrown more and more into the hands of the few who are able to buy and sell for cash. The country is suffering from the demoralizing effects of financial doubt and uncertainty, already so great that ordinary mercantile investments are losing their legitimate character of efforts to supply the demands of the people, and are becoming guesses or chances like those in a lottery —dependent upon the unknown and secret will of the officers and advisers of the Government, and the influence they exert in the price of that which is given and received as the standard of value. The relation between debtor and creditor on all previously existing pecuniary contracts has been arbitrarily changed. Each merchant, jobber and retailer, charging a percentage on the increased price of the article which passes through his hands, the continued and progressive accumulation of prices presses with peculiar hardship and severity upon the laboring man, whose wages, in times like these, are the last of all things to rise. The clerk who has agreed to work for a salary, and has arranged his expenses in accordance with his means, finds himself unexpectedly, and from no fault of his own, unable to meet his daily expenses. The family of him who has spared from his income a small sum for life insurance, finds the result of his hard earnings reduced by these deplorable laws, upon the death of a father, more than one third, nearly one half of the just amount. By the practice of constant economy, the parent of many virtues, numerous day laborers and other persons have deposited in savings' banks a sum estimated as amounting to at least two hundred and fifty millions dollars in the free states. The depreciation in these frugal savings of the most industrious classes is already more than one hundred millions of dollars. It contrasts strangely with the sums realized by fraudulent contractors, and with the enormous fortunes made by the speculators who know beforehand the intentions of the administration. The motive for industry and economy is thus impaired among one of the most deserving classes of the people by abusing their confidence, and destroying their sense of security. The state fares ill, indeed, when favorites thus flourish; when the industrious are deprived of their earnings by the Government which should protect them, and the idle and rapacious are enriched from the spoils of the better part of the community.

"The soldier and sailor of the regular army and navy, together with those, who in the hour of our peril, have nobly come forward to give their lives, if need be, to the service of their country, thus lose nearly half of their pay by the act of that administration whose commands they loyally obey, however repugnant the ruling policy may be to their convictions regarding the welfare and true honor of the nation. Where men enlisted under a stipulation that their pay should be thirteen dollars, they receive considerable less than eight dollars in actual value. Pensions for the maimed and wounded are reduced in the same proportion. He who dies upon the field, and leaves behind him a widow and orphan children depending upon the bounty of his country, whose gratitude he so well merits, and in whom he had confided with the proud love of his heart, knows that the cold charity of a pension thus unjustly diminished, is all that will be doled out to them; but he knows not what will be the end of these curtailments now already so far advanced.

"I leave the legal questions arising as to the obligations of contracts and the consistency or conflicts of recent enactments with the constitution of our country, to be decided in those courts of law, where I trust the zeal and blindness of party,

strife, and politics may never enter. My purpose in this place at present, is to discuss the tendency and effects of law—not their constitutionality."

At the beginning of the war, he had urged upon Congress the importance of a prompt and judicious system of taxation, adequate to meet the coming demands on the government, and maintain its credit. Now, as other temporary expedients had been adopted, but had not received the unanimous support of the country, he suggested that the Secretary of the Treasury should be relieved from a portion of the solemn responsibilities that devolved upon him, by the appointment of a Commission to enquire, with his co-operation, into the best method of arranging our financial affairs. It would have been a special part of the duty of such Commission to call before it, without any regard to party, the wisest and most distinguished bankers and commercial men of extended experience. Thus the odium and partialities which it is difficult to separate from private conferences, would have been avoided.

All such leading periodicals of that time, as represented the views now commonly entertained by those who have studied the financial affairs of the nation, hailed with high encomium the exposition given by General Ward—the *New York World* saying :

"Mr. Ward's speech in Congress, on the finance bill before the House, is the most able speech yet delivered on this subject during the existence of this hapless Thirty-ninth Congress. It is replete with official statistics, facts and sound reasoning on the same, illustrated by parallels drawn from history, which are so arranged as to force conviction upon the reader, by the irresistible logic of truth and common sense, and in this respect it forms a pleasing contrast to the misstatements and absurdities of some other honorable members. General Ward reviews in detail the advance in prices, caused by excessive issues of legal tender notes, and exhibits in a practical manner the Secretary of the Treasury's misstatements respecting prices, the premium on gold, and the redundancy of paper money. Mr Ward records his earnest protest against further issues of legal tender notes. His speech ought to be read by every citizen, as it gives an intelligent exposition of this currency question."

The life-long character of General Ward was so well understood that even during the political debates of the most exciting times, the purity and loyalty of his motives were never questioned. He saw that, if secession were permitted to triumph, further disruption

would be the logical and natural result. He always recognized the desire of the people to sustain the government, and to bear the just burdens resulting from it. All honorable members, even those whose opinions were not in accordance with his own, appreciated his desire that the necessary taxation should be so arranged as to be as little burdensome as was possible.

He always regarded the revolt as "an attempt on the part of the few to create a revolution against the wishes of the many." And always maintained the full force of the great argument, stated in his own words, that "if we admit the right of secession there is an end to the Government; and if we cannot put down the rebellion, this republic will cease to occupy its proper position among the nations of the world."

In the running debates on the details of the tariff, in June and July, 1862, when the excited condition of the public mind was seized by interested parties, as the opportunity of unreasonable taxation, and the theory of ultra-protection was carried to its utmost extent, he took such a part as might have been expected from one who was never carried away by the *furore* of the day. He demonstrated that, on many articles, addition of duty would lead to a diminution of revenue, and maintained that revenue for the relief of the people, and to furnish the sinews of war, was the proper object of the changes in the tariff at that time.

When unjust discrimination in taxation was the order of the day, and popularity, emoluments and official position were the rewards of those who stimulated extravagant expenditures, and professed belief that "a national debt was a national blessing," he told the House that, for generations to come, the laboring men of the United States would be compelled to labor for several additional hours daily, and to stint themselves and their families in necessary comforts; not to speak of accustomed, and almost necessary luxuries, in order to repair the combined results of the deplorable war, and of an unnecessarily burdensome financial policy.

In subsequent debates on the tariff he took a leading part. In a speech made on the 2d of June, 1864, he was already enabled to appeal to experience in proof of the opinions he had formerly expressed as to financial affairs of the nation. He said :

"A fundamental error was long ago committed, in creating the system of legal tender, and the earnest conviction of many who knew better than to depart from the truth and reality, have been changed into faint scruples, and then entirely overcome. The spectral doctrine that we can make money by printing it, has superseded the dissolving views of specie payment. The effect of all the redundancy of paper is that \$100 in gold will buy national securities to the amount of \$190. We must treat the public debt as something to be actually paid. We must treble our revenue by a well considered system of taxation, pressing as lightly as possible upon the working and producing classes; and we must cease to inflate the currency by fictitious values. There is no subject so important to the people as this collective indebtedness. 'One dollar saved by taxation is,' as has been said by the Secretary of the Treasury, 'of more real value to the country, than two made as money is now supposed to be made; and the tariff should be so arranged as to yield the largest possible revenue to the country, with the least possible inconvenience to the people.'"

He drew the attention of Congress to the valuable financial reforms, by which the statesmen of Great Britain had so greatly relieved the people of that country, and pointed out that we, with much benefit to the masses of our own citizens, might limit taxation to fewer articles. He showed that, of the \$120,000,000 derived from customs in the United Kingdom, the year before he spoke, ninety per cent. was obtained from six articles only; and he presented to the House a short but complete analysis of the revenue system of that country, setting forth that of the whole income of \$355,000,000, spirits contributed \$63,000,000, or 17 1-2 per cent.; beer, \$30,000,000, or 8 1-2 per cent.; tea and coffee, \$30,000,000, or 8 1-2 per cent.; tobacco, \$28,000,000, or 8 per cent.; sugar, \$33,000,000, or 9 per cent.; wine, \$5,000,000, or 1 1-2 per cent.; stamps, \$45,000,000, or 12 1-2 per cent.; income and property, \$55,000,000, or 15 1-4 per cent.; a land tax, \$6,000,000, or 1 1-2 per cent.; excise taxes, exclusive of spirits, \$10,000,000, or 2 1-2 per cent.; the post office, \$18,000,000, or 5 per cent.; assessed taxes, \$9,000,000, or 2 1-4 per cent.; and sundry other articles, \$23,000,000, or 6 1-2 per cent.

He declared the duty of the representatives of the people in Congress to be to legislate, not as partizans, but as statesmen, comprehending all the great interests of the country, and defined the proper object of a tariff bill to be to realize as large an amount as is practicable, on articles of luxury, to simplify the whole system, to diminish the expense of collection, prevent smuggling or illegal trade, and subject the public to as little vexation and inconvenience, as few unnecessary burdens as possible, and to relieve the masses of the people from any increased price in the necessary articles of living. But the House had passed from one extreme to another; from a disposition to postpone, indefinitely, the enforcement of the necessary revenue, it rushed to inordinate and indiscriminating taxation.

At this time, the absence of proper information as to disbursements on behalf of the nation, became a subject of grave interest to many thinking men, and General Ward, for the purpose of keeping the capitalists and people well informed as to the condition of the public finances, introduced into the House a resolution, directing the Secretary of the Treasury to furnish to Congress, every fortnight, an account of the receipts, expenditures and estimates of the various departments of the government. His motion did not, at first, produce the desired effect; but the justice and desirability of the object he had in view were so obvious, that the Secretary of the Treasury, who, from the beginning, admitted the soundness of the principle implied, soon afterwards began to issue the monthly statements, which yet continue to be made.

On the 4th day of April, 1864, when "the National Bank Bill" was under discussion in the House of Representatives, Mr. Hooper, who had charge of the bill, announced that the only limit to the banking capital employed under it was the amount of the national debt as it was then, or might be in future, and that the capital might be three times the amount of any such debt. As the debt then exceeded \$1,500,000,000, the amount of the capital thus authorized was \$4,500,000,000. General Ward showed that the currency of

the whole nation never before, except in 1857, when the ten southern states were with us, and we were a unit, reached its maximum of \$214,778,822, and expressed his belief that the issue of mere promises to pay, called paper money, instead of the adoption of prompt, vigorous and adequate measures of taxation, has from the first been no less injurious to the pecuniary interests of the nation than to a just appreciation of the political crisis and revolution in which we are involved. He said:

"I have never shrunk from voting all such supplies as the government considered necessary to overcome the rebellion, yet I have always desired that while the citizens of the United States are growing poorer and poorer every day, as long as the war continues, they should be deluded by no fictitious appearance of prosperity, but these truths which they are here to learn at last, should be brought practically home to their minds and pockets from the beginning. Under such a system of taxation as I have advocated, great economy would have been practiced; our securities would have commanded in a greater degree, the confidence of capitalists, and the people: our national counsels would have been more deliberative, and we should have been stronger in the end."

By a series of important historical facts and statistics he showed the dangers incident to a large and sudden expansion of the currency. The views he advocated are those of which the truth is now strongly felt by progressive thinkers, and is rapidly becoming popular; but when he had the boldness to utter them, they were voted down by the financial neophytes of the day. In less than a year from the time when he spoke, the reaction against extreme and precipitate measures had attained such power that he was enabled to say in the House of Representatives, without contradiction:

"Some of my friends on the other side of the House, who looked on tranquilly at the time the mischief was being done, have now become alarmed, and call for a suspension of the issues of the national banks, and for measures against state banks, which, in their operations, will be equivalent to the extinction of the latter institutions. As is the case with all panic-stricken people, they want now to run from the point of extreme inflation, to that of extreme compression, and administer a course of heroic remedies, which may cure the disease at the expense of what little life remains in the patient."

Throughout the period when General Ward was a member of Congress, he was regarded as being especially the commercial representative of the city of New York, and many memorials on sub-

jects connected with trade and navigation were intrusted to his charge. A petition was presented by the New York Chamber of Commerce to Congress, in January, 1864, asking for subsidies to a first class line of American steamers to make regular trips from New York to Liverpool, and also to the ports of our continental neighbors upon the South American and Pacific shores. They stated that :

"Our steamers have been driven from the ocean until now; not a solitary one carries our flag to any European port. Not because our mechanics are not as skillful—witness the triumphs of the Collins side-wheel, and recently the triumphs of the Pacific screw steamers; not for want of enterprise on the part of her citizens, for the steamers already built cannot hold their own upon the seas for want of that aid and fostering legislation which other Governments so liberally supply, and without which competition is ruin."

The petition was referred in the House of Representatives, to the Committee on Commerce, a majority of which was adverse to any action at that time; but consented that General Ward make a report, in which the cardinal interests of the country, on this important branch of industrial enterprise, were ably advocated. In a series of admirably arranged tables, he showed that the steady and gradual increase of the commerce of Great Britain over our own, even with our neighbors on this continent, has followed closely from a quick perception of the effects oceanic steam navigation would have upon commerce, and from appropriate legislation in accordance with this wise foresight. He proclaimed it the duty of the Government, in view of its own financial interests, and of the commercial, agricultural and industrial prosperity of the people of the United States to give such reasonable encouragement, by subsidies and postal contracts to lines of steamships running from our own to foreign ports, as would enable the owners of American steam vessels to compete on fair terms with those of the leading commercial nations, on the great highways of the world. His positions as to our trade with South America and China, were presented with great force, and subsequent events have confirmed their accuracy. He said :

"In borrowing so largely as the Government has done from the nation, it has

assumed duties of a new class—the duty of rendering that burden as light as possible to the people who have assumed it. As the rebellion wanes, and the dawn of national prosperity again brightens, the energy of the people of the United States will be aroused to the renewal of the struggle for commercial prosperity, and it will not surely be expecting too much, that some additional debt be incurred to develop that branch of industry, which the experience of all nations has shown to present the readiest and most equal method of meeting the expenses of Government, and interest on its obligations.

"Wherever steam communication has been introduced by Great Britain, it has been followed by an immediate and rapid increase of her trade with the country with which she has increased her commercial facilities. This continued increase threatens to diminish our own commerce. These results, in relation to Brazil, are everywhere manifest. It is the same in Mexico, Central America, and the West Indies, countries rich, fertile, capable of vast productions of the most valuable character, such as coffee, sugar, cotton, tobacco, the prime necessities and the most prized luxuries of modern civilization.

"But more than all important is the proposed communication with the east. By it, the Atlantic seaboard cities will receive their letters in fifty to fifty-five days from Hong Kong, Shanghae and Nipon; and information will pass by telegram, *via* San Francisco, in twenty-five to thirty days. When the projected railroad across the continent is complete, communication by letter may be made in thirty-five days, or thereabouts. A large trade will grow up between the eastern and the western shores of the Pacific. The circle of commerce will be complete; all nations, and tribes, and races, will be brought into close and intimate relation, and all that is physical having been subordinated to the comfort and happiness of mankind, the world will await, with awe and wonder, what new development of its progress is yet reserved for the human mind, under the inspiration of the Author and Ruler of the universe."

In 1864, General Ward was, for the fifth time, nominated for Congress by the democratic party. His opponents were the Honorable Henry J. Raymond, on the part of the republicans, Colonel Rush C. Hawkins, an irregular republican, and Eli P. Norton, the candidate of a few disaffected persons who disliked the patriotic support given by General Ward to the war measures of the Government. The vote in his favor was as large as in the canvass of 1862, but the constituency had increased, and Mr. Norton drew away a sufficient number of votes to defeat him. Thus, by a majority of 386, Mr. Raymond was elected.

From the earliest moment of his public life General Ward had foreseen how destructive of the life and property of his fellow citizens a war between the northern and southern states must be, and had conscientiously done his duty in endeavoring to avert it. He

understood the subject too thoroughly to suppose such a contest would be terminated in sixty days, as was confidently asserted by some who ought to have known better, and he sought none of the popularity, with its accompaniments of emoluments, power, and political honors, which, at one time, were at the service of those who deluded the people with this flattering and pernicious expectation ; but, when the crisis came, he desired nothing more earnestly than that all the resources of the nation should be economically, wisely, and speedily applied to crush out the rebellion.

He held that the doctrine of secession was that of perpetual disintegration, but he also believed that if pure patriotism and a desire to maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, had been the consistent rule of action, throughout the different branches of the government, the struggle would have been kept within narrower limits, and have soon ended. In his speech on "the true policy of the government relative to the conduct of the war, with a view to the restoration of the Union," delivered in the House of Representatives on the 9th of January, 1863, when it had under consideration a resolution submitting to the legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States, so that all persons should be equal under the law in all the States, without regard to color, and that no person should thereafter be held in bondage ; he said :

" It is not my intention to discuss, at this time and place, the causes which have inaugurated the terrible rebellion which has already cost the republic such a frightful waste of life and treasure. It is enough for me to know that a death-blow has been aimed at the heart of the American Union, to feel indignant at the outrage, and solicitous to avert it. It is enough for me to know that a sacrilegious attempt has been made to break up the wisest form of government that human wisdom ever devised, to feel it my duty to join in the effort to chastise the perpetrators of so great a crime. I have not approved of all that has been done under the sanction of the war power. I have deemed it proper to protest, in the name of the loyal and law-abiding constituency I have the honor to represent on this floor, against certain acts of the Executive and Congress, which, in my opinion, have been the means of prolonging this sanguinary war ; but I am settled in the conviction that secession is treason, and that, as such, it must be put down at all hazards, and at any cost. If secession succeeds, republican liberties are lost forever, and the

government, failing to vindicate its power, would forfeit the consideration and respect of every civilized nation on earth. If the heresy of secession were to be recognized as a canon of our political faith, there would be an end to our government. Let Louisiana secede unhindered, and then, when that act has been accomplished, what is to prevent her from handing that State over to England or any other power, commanding, as she does, the mouth of the great Mississippi? This she most assuredly has a right to do, if she has a right to secede, thus closing up the "Father of Waters," and excluding all the states on its borders from a market. The same rule would apply to any other seceded state. Hence the duty of every American patriot, whatever his station or condition, to uphold the government in its efforts to compel the seceded states to respect the Constitution and the laws of the country. Upon this conviction of duty I have ever acted since the first insult to our flag was offered. The same abiding sense of the responsibility which rests upon me as a representative of the people in Congress will, I trust, carry me unflinchingly through whatever phase may yet remain undeveloped in the fearful drama which has been so long in process of action."

He explained the solemn convictions from which he had consistently advocated the war policy of President Lincoln, with whom he was on terms of warm personal friendship, and had devoted all his strength "to the support of the Government, the Constitution and the Union, looking upon secession as eternal war, and recognizing this great principle—that we are one people, that one we will remain, and one we will die." He alluded to the various proclamations of Generals Fremont, Hunter and Phelps, all of which the President had revoked, declaring again and again that he had no right, under the Constitution, to emancipate the slaves, and to the instructions under which Governor Stanley and many others had spoken in every part of the country, declaring that President Lincoln was no abolitionist, but was the best friend the south ever had, and that all the administration wanted was peace. The expression of these sentiments produced a strong feeling of reaction in the border states, and added thousands upon thousands to the lists of recruits. In advocating the views thus taken by the President, General Ward said :

"I am well aware, sir, that my course in sustaining the war policy of the President has subjected me to considerable animadversion, and that my motives of action have frequently, and sometimes wickedly, been misconstrued by those who either could not understand the emergencies of the occasion, or who preferred seeing this great republic split up into fragments, rather than yield one iota of their

prejudices. But, sir, there is one tribunal to which I appeal with feelings of pride and confidence from the judgment of disunionists: it is the tribunal of my conscience. The verdict which I find recorded there will sustain me under all calumnies and vituperations. When the day shall come for me to render an account of my stewardship to my constituents, I shall be able to show them that, in denouncing treason, and in sustaining the government in its efforts to put down rebels in arms, I have been true to myself, to my country, and to the sternest requirements of the democratic creed. How much the democratic party, acting as a party, through its organization, may do to bring back peace to the country, it is impossible to predict. It will depend upon the steadiness with which it adheres to what are admitted to be democratic principles. To expect to return to sound practices in the government, through the medium of a party which, from any suggestions of expediency, however plausible, departs from its principles, is, of all expectations, the most irrational. Peace will return; the war fury is a passion which exhausts itself. But however desirable peace may be, we ought to be united in the determination, that when it comes, it should bring with it the union of the states under the federal constitution. Those who fail to recognize this national exigency are not imbued with the true spirit of democracy; they have read the signs of the times to very little purpose. The democratic party is essentially a party of progress, and those who aspire to be its leaders ought, at least, to have sense enough to know that we are in the midst of a great revolution, and that revolution is progress."

He deplored the existence of causes injurious to the unanimity with which, at the beginning of the war, the people of the whole north had rallied to the support of the administration, and showed that the unanimity had continued until the prosecution of the war was diverted from the original object, the restoration of the Union, and a series of measures, such as confiscation, suspension of the writ of *habeas corpus*, and others of similar nature, were inaugurated, thus dividing the north and uniting the south.

Confident that negro servitude could take no firm root in the territories, but would be naturally and surely destroyed by the laws of climate and soil, which rendered it unprofitable therein, and therefore could be little affected by any provision embodied in the Constitution, and that the war would end slavery in the Southern States; he opposed the amendment on the ground that such changes should never be made without grave and adequate cause. Each such infraction of the Constitution, under which the people have so far and so gloriously prospered, opens the door wider for others—a contingency which the people and statesmen of the

United States had, for wise reasons, always endeavored to avoid. He said :

" Slavery has always been and is regarded as a domestic question. The right to abolish it does and ought to rest with the states in which it exists. Since the organization of the government, the law of climate and soil has controlled the subject, and has caused the abolition of slavery in six of the original states, and either abolished or prohibited it in all but nine of the new states since admitted. This government is one of delegated powers, and those not conferred are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people. In regard to slavery, the constitution is silent, and, therefore, no power exists to amend it in the respect indicated; and in addition, in my judgment, that instrument contemplated that all the states should participate in any amendment thereof. Sir, I do not stand here as the apologist of slavery, but merely to insist that we have no right to incorporate the proposed amendment, and that even if the right exists, it is a most injudicious time for the exercise of the power, when we should desire to bring back the seceded states to loyalty and obedience."

While he regarded all such legislation as practically worse than useless, he was one of the first to recognize fully that slavery was destroyed by the war, and he announced in terms no less strong and explicit, that he was resolutely opposed to the re-admission of any state which was then, or had been, occupied by our armies, into the Union, with the legal right of property in slaves. On this point he used the following decisive terms:

" I am as strongly opposed as any of my comp̄eers on the other side of the House, to the re-admission into the Union, with the right of slave property, of any state where slavery has been swept away by the onward march of our armies. Whatever may be the object of the war, the practical result is the same, and that is, the overthrow of slavery in all those portions of slaveholding territory which our armies subjugate; in these the relation of master and slave cease to exist. The masters retreat as our forces advance, and carry with them a portion of their slaves, but the greater part remain behind and take refuge within our lines; and the question is, what shall become of them, and what are our duties in regard to them? The American people have behaved admirably since this war broke out. They have shown an energy and elasticity of spirit, a power of organization and combination, a readiness to make sacrifices, a patriotic devotion, worthy of the highest praise. Let us not forget the claims of those unhappy freedmen whom we have deprived of their masters, their natural guardians and protectors."

During a debate in the House of Representatives, on the 27th of February, 1865, on the bill then known as the "Loan Bill," or "the bill to provide ways and means for the support of the government," General Ward took the ground that the people are vitally interested

in maintaining the public credit, and in the adoption of the course of policy best calculated to promote that end. "Difference of opinion should," he said, "only exist as the mode of attaining such a result." By this time the inflation of the currency, had begun to excite general alarm, and the Comptroller of the Currency, in a circular addressed to the national banks, had already gone so far as to say that "the apparent prosperity of the country will be proved to be unreal when the war is closed." He opposed the increase of inflation which, in spite of the warning, was permitted by the bill, and strenuously urged the early adoption of some plan for funding the public debt. He laid down the following rule of taxation:

"The foundation of our national prosperity rests on the remunerative character of the labor of the working classes, while the safety of our political institution lies in the contentment of that part of our population. Let the savings of the sinewy masses be swallowed up in taxation, and the growth of our wealth is arrested by a disease at its root. Let the working people, who constitute a large majority of the population, be taxed beyond their share in the material interests of the country, and in paying the expenses of one revolution, we sow the seeds of another. The only method of avoiding the creation of class distinction, and escaping an aristocracy of capital, is to see to it, that the citizen is taxed as nearly as possible in proportion to his means. Any system of taxation that does not draw revenue chiefly from the classes best able to pay, is inconsistent with republican institutions, and must ultimately be overthrown by the vote of the masses, or itself overthrow the democratic constitution of society."

He again drew attention in detail to the simplicity of the system of taxation, then recently adopted by Great Britain for the relief of her people, showing, among other things, that the interest on the national debt of that country,—nearly \$4,000,000,000,—is paid entirely by the duties on two articles, spirituous liquors and tobacco; and said, at the conclusion of his remarks :

"We must, at the earliest moment, return to a sound system of finance; the great excess of paper issue must be withdrawn; the expenses of the government diminished, and the debt funded and placed in process of liquidation, or the crisis will culminate in general bankruptcy and, perhaps, in repudiation. While the resources of the country are not adequate to meet the present and accruing liabilities, still upon the return of peace, we may hope for such a rapid development of the vast wealth of the country as will enable the people to bear lightly the gigantic debt that will be created during the war between contending states, whose greatness and power depend upon unity."

The latter years of the service of General Ward in Congress included the whole period of the great civil war, an epoch of vast import in the history of the United States, and such an one as may not again be witnessed for many generations. The republic of the United States, comparatively young among the nations of the world, called into the military service, within four years, more than two millions of men to preserve its existence, and developed the marvellous financial and material resources required to meet an expenditure of about \$3,000,000,000 in support of the government, and to maintain its vast army and navy. Never before did any people so voluntarily and successfully assert their attachment to the institutions of their country; and not the least of the inspiring results to the friends of republicanism was the gradual, natural and complete return of the victorious citizen-soldiers to the peaceful pursuits of industry.

When in Congress, General Ward served upon the Committee on Commerce, on that of Roads and Canals, and of the District of Columbia. In addition to the demands made upon him by his legislative duties, much of his time was occupied by special appeals arising out of the war. It was, perhaps, the unavoidable result of the great pressure of public business that the summary dismissals from the army, and the hasty action of court martials, often did great injustice to officers. In these cases his friendly aid was often solicited. Frequent applications were made to him by parents, for passes and other facilities, to enable them to visit their sons, when wounded, or to recover their remains. He was ever ready to give his time, and sympathizing attention to these calls; and his ready access to, and influence with President Lincoln, the members of his Cabinet, and the heads of the departments, were such that none, in any just case, ever departed without the desired relief or action. By these means many an officer is enabled to recollect with gratitude the substitution of the word "honorable" for that of "dishonorable" in his discharge; others were promptly restored to their

commands; and many who were wounded and dying had the consolation of being attended by their relatives and friends.

In May, 1865, he sailed for Europe. After visiting England, Scotland, Germany, France, Italy and Switzerland, he returned to the United States in the autumn of the same year.

On the 28th of August, 1866, he was married to Mrs. Ellen E. Stuart, widow of the late Robert Stuart of the United States navy, a lady of high culture, and of a truly benevolent and christian character. They sailed for Europe on the following day, and remained abroad until September, 1868, having in the meantime made an extensive tour through Egypt, the Holy Land, Turkey, and all the European countries.

In October, 1868, two of the democratic organizations in his old district tendered him a nomination for re-election to Congress. While appreciating this renewed evidence of esteem he respectfully declined being a candidate.

In pursuance of an invitation, General Ward, on the 9th of March, 1870, addressed a meeting of the members of the Chamber of Commerce, Commercial Union, New York Produce Exchange, Ship Owners' Association, and Citizens' Association, all of the city of New York, taking as the subject of his discourse: "Our Inland Commerce—a free canal policy the best guarantee for its preservation and increase."

He is well known as having always been a warm friend of such a liberal administration of the affairs of the State, as would best promote the commercial relations between New York and the Great West, and on which so much of the prosperity of each depends. He deems the proper rule in all taxation to be, to take a small portion of that which men seek as the end of their labor, rather than to impair the means by which they gain their subsistence, and is an open enemy of the narrow and mistaken policy of high tolls on the public works of the state. He observed with deep regret the diminished proportion of western products, received at New York,

and the diversion of this valuable trade through other states and Canada, and saw that it could only be regained by such a reduction in the cost of transportation as would enable us again to offer inducements superior to those of other routes, by underselling our rivals, while leaving a fair profit to those engaged in the business. He fully appreciated the importance to laboring men, mechanics, merchants, manufacturers, and to the farmers of our state, of being enabled to purchase grain, food, lumber and other raw materials at low prices, and saw that the state itself could do much towards the attainment of this desirable object, by reducing the rates of tolls on the great thoroughfares of which it is the owner.

The high rates had proved a double failure, and had not only driven trade away, but had decreased the revenue, and the real question at issue, was not merely whether the revenue of the state, from the articles whence it had chiefly been derived, should be less or greater; but, whether on the transit of these articles with its valuable employment of a large number of our citizens, the revenue thus received should be entirely lost by high charges or retained and increased by a moderate tariff of tolls.

In describing the national advantages of the harbor of New York, General Ward having referred to the suggestive fact, that railroads "cover our country with a net work, and lead from the north-west to many cities on the Atlantic coast, but, of all the sisterhood of states, New York alone, possesses a good water route from the lakes, and the great granary of the interior to the ocean ;" added as the result of his observations in the old world, that although railroads are preferred as the means of carrying passengers, and transact an enormous and increasing business in freight, the canals and natural water courses compete successfully with them, in the carriage of heavy and bulky articles, such as form almost exclusively the mass of the exports from the west to the Atlantic.

He briefly described the topography of the continent; referred especially to the Appalachian or Alleghany range of mountains,

reaching from Georgia to the northern extremity of Gaspé, driving the water from the great lakes far to the north, but leaving an opening in the Catskills, made when the mountains were formed, through which the Hudson flows, affording those facilities for transit which, in connection with the almost unrivalled harbor at its mouth, and the level surface of the land route, chosen for the canals between Schenectady and the lakes Ontario and Erie, give to New York her inland and foreign commerce.

In this connection he alluded to the present and future condition of the immense areas north-west. "The rich wheat plains of the Red river of the north, and those of the yet greater valley of the Saskatchewan, well named the Mississippi of the north, which are ready to pour millions of tons of grain into the cars of the railroads, almost as soon as its passenger trains afford an opportunity, for the industrial army of settlers to make war upon the yet primeval wilderness." He said :

"Thus the great course of the inland trade of this continent is to and fro between the east and the west. Before the Erie Canal was opened, the difficulties of carriage between these two portions of the union were so great as almost to constitute an embargo; but no sooner was this public work in operation than the cost of transportation from Buffalo to Albany was reduced from \$100 to \$10, and afterwards to \$3 a ton. Until the canal was made, the productions of the west were of little commercial value; there were few inducements for the emigrants to settle on the new shores of lakes Erie and Michigan, while the country beyond them was a yet more unbroken wilderness. The opening of the canal had an electrical effect, not only in our own country, but also in stimulating the immigration of the laboring population of Europe; and the development of the west was accompanied by a corresponding increase of business in the City and State of New York and New England."

No speech he ever made was characterized more decidedly by his habit of condensing important statements, and yet presenting them with such simplicity, that the laborious investigation they required is not at first perceived, and he who runs may read and understand them. From this excellence arises the difficulty of giving a more brief analysis of his ideas than was made by himself. He showed that, as long ago as 1860, the total income from the Erie Canal had been more than \$41,000,000 over all the expenditures for it,

and that by its suitable enlargement, the total cost of bringing a ton of grain from Chicago to New York need not exceed \$3 75.

"Thus," he said, "we should give the grain producers of our country unprecedented facilities for successful competition in foreign markets. The benefits created would extend to purchaser and consumer everywhere. There can be no doubt that, by attracting trade through a judicious and liberal system of low tolls, the revenue directly derived by the state treasury itself, from the canals, would be far greater than if we continue the absurd and unbusiness-like policy of gradually driving trade away by exorbitant charges."

Of the profits from the canal, he said:

"We are to estimate them by the increase of individual wealth throughout the community, the rise in real estate, both in city property and in farms, and by the multiplication and prosperity of our people. It would not be difficult to show that by opening out the west to settlement the canal contributed more than any other single cause to the preponderance of the power of the north."

In concluding his speech, he said:

"I rejoice to know that the interests of our city are those of the Union at large, and that, in finding or making a way to develop the natural advantages of our position, we not only benefit ourselves and the northwest, but, by increasing profitable shipments of our productions to other countries, enable our people more easily to pay interest on the large and increasing amount of our national, and other securities, held in Europe.

"The canal is both locally, and, in a cosmopolitan sense, an important division of that yet more comprehensive subject—the commercial intercourse—which is materially the main-spring of modern triumphs over the forces of nature, the advancement of civilization, and the increase of human welfare. In a familiar photograph of the travelling and carrying system of his time, Shakespeare pleasantly suggests how recent is the progress of our race on these points. We remember how the company of eight or ten persons assembled at Gad's Hill, and traveled together for protection against common danger, and how, of the two strictly professional carriers, one had on his solitary horse, a 'gammon of bacon and two razes of ginger,' and the other had 'turkeys in his panniers.' Having thirty miles to travel, the members of the cavalcade rose at two in the morning, that they might perform the journey before night. In those days, not only was there no railway and no canal, but even good wagon roads had no existence. When estimating what the future will be, we properly compare the past with the present, as it is, not only in Great Britain and throughout Europe, but in this country—a wilderness in Shakespeare's time. Instead of a couple of carriers owning two horses, laden with one piece of bacon, two 'razes' of ginger and half-a-dozen turkeys, the modern substitutes in the United States alone have a capital measured by thousands of millions of dollars, and their traffic is estimated to be worth as many millions annually.

"The United States, to a greater extent than any other country, either of ancient or modern times, possess alike the unprecedented appliances of modern science to the production of all that is desirable for the material welfare of man, with unlimited natural resources, and no limits can be assigned to our progress if, to a

sound and decisive policy on subjects directly financial, commercial and educational, we add due attention to the material advantages obviously within our reach."

The statistics and facts adduced by General Ward were both curious and striking, and his speech attained an extensive circulation and popularity. The question of low tolls had for many years been the foot ball of parties, but in 1871, the policy, of which he demonstrated the expediency, was fully adopted by both. All good and thoughtful citizens will hope that this unanimity will be perpetual.

When General Ward ceased to be a member of the House, no representative remained who was willing to devote the requisite attention to our relations with Canada; and the enemies of revenue reform, knowing well what was never absent from his mind throughout his discussions on this subject, that it is impossible to arrange our commercial intercourse with Canada on a permanent basis, unless we first apply to our own affairs, in a yet unattained degree, the principles of common sense, and of pure government; have been more than willing to avoid investigation, and let the mutual interests of our own citizens and the Canadians remain unconsulted. Those who are not the friends of mankind profit by dissensions and divisions among the people.

Every new railroad in the United States and Canada, leading towards their respective territories, is steadily an antagonist, working day and night to the frontier custom houses. Mutual rights of free import, export and transit throughout the two countries must exist before many more years have elapsed. General Ward treated the subject upon the ground that the legitimate interests of the people on both sides are harmonious, and that magnanimity, mutual respect and accurate statements are better elements for American diplomacy, than unscrupulous bargaining, and a vain, absurd and unworthy attempt, nominally to coerce the Canadians; but intended less to effect that object than to excite the tumultuous approval of

the unreflecting portion of our own citizens. The representatives of the old high tory principles in the New Dominion, who desire to prevent her annexation to this country, advocate the same policy as that of the adversaries of revenue reform in the United States, and strive to prevent the free commingling of the people of the two countries in the friendly and profitable pursuit of their mutual and respective interests.

The growing importance of our commercial relations with Canada was not unperceived by thoughtful men in the House of Representatives; the unsettled state of our affairs with Mexico, and the serious injuries sustained by the revenue of the United States from the establishment of the Libra Zona, on the Mexican frontier, increased their interest in the subject, and soon after the return of General Ward from Europe, several leading members, without distinction of political parties, believing that the time had come for the adoption of such measures as will ensure the largest possible extent of mutually beneficial intercourse between the various nations of this continent, requested from him "an expression of his opinions as to the commercial system most worthy of consideration by the people of the United States and Canada, at this important crisis."

The pith of his letter in reply is indicated by the words he used as a motto: "A free continental system, the best means of increasing our agricultural, manufacturing and commercial prosperity." He deemed the opportune time had arrived when it was incumbent upon the Government of the United States at least, to ascertain by open inquiries, whether it is possible to give the people of both countries the power of profitably exchanging the productions of their industry. The provinces had become united, and made Canada more independent of European protection and control. This novel position and the evident willingness of Great Britain to entrust to the Canadians the principle of self-government to a yet greater extent, as well as the increased desire of many of her leading statesmen to promote friendly relations with this country, occu-

pied a large portion of his letter. His views were in substance the same as those afterwards adopted by the Commercial Convention at Detroit. Advanced enlightenment is producing a quiet revolution. General Ward wrote:

"In the present condition of Canada much depends upon the sentiments of the people of the United States and the action of our Government towards her. A friendly and liberal policy will insure her independence, churlish isolation and ill-will would drive her to seek a new and closer, but temporary connection with Great Britain, less advantageous to the Dominion, the mother country, and mankind than such an arrangement as would fully secure the political liberty of Canada and establish free commercial relations with the vast confederation of the Celto-Teutonic States of our Union.

"The relative geographical positions of the Dominion and the United States are such that reasons tending to a closer union with this country than with Great Britain, must continually make themselves manifest; but there is no reason why we should postpone mutual benefits, and, discarding a policy of attraction, persevere in repelling the Canadians from us. In this aspect I believe the discussion of our commercial relations with Canada is both opportune and important."

He again explained and urged the adoption of the principles of German Custom's Union, comprehensively defining it to be "the association of a number of states for the establishment of a common customs' law and customs' line with regard to foreign countries, and for the suppression of both in the intercourse of the states within the border line." Experience of the benefits created by this system, was "so satisfactory, that the best publicists of Europe, believed that Prussia thus conferred upon the German people advantages scarcely inferior to those she initiated by the diffusion of education and intelligence." He showed that it not only promoted the industry and prosperity of the allied states more than any other measure or sets of measures, that their government could have devised, but that it was found that the increase of wealth and population thus arising, created an additional demand for foreign products.

Reasoning from this analogy, he drew the novel but truthful conclusion, which forms perhaps the most telling point in his letter, yet confined his remarks to economical or commercial views, without defining too sharply the boundaries between this obvious and

material profit, and the yet stronger element of higher principles He said:

"The interests of the British people would ultimately be promoted by the application of the zollverein principle on this continent. It would be an important acknowledgment of the great natural law that whatever territories nature has joined together and made mutually dependant, should not be kept asunder by artificial arrangements. It would be opposed in Great Britain by those who have not learned wisdom from experience, and formerly thought the mother country would be ruined by granting permission to the colonies to import goods on equal terms from all countries. But as it could not fail to increase the prosperity of the states which would become parties to it, it would enlarge the power of their people to purchase abroad. It would bring, almost palpably and by personal perception before their minds, and indirectly force upon the attention of the rest of the world, the truth, that although tariffs for revenue are necessary, the profit or loss attending the exchange of industrial products among men is as independent of their various allegiances as it is of party fealty or religious faith among the individual members of each single state."

The project of purchasing San Domingo gave a pointed application to his remarks. He held that the material and other benefits of reciprocal trade with Canada would soon become so obvious, and our diplomatic and commercial power be so much augmented, that negotiations with other American countries would be greatly facilitated. He said :

"Instead of buying territory or paying people to enter into our political union, we might include Mexico, Cuba, and the Central American States, in one zollverein.

"Our commercial relations with these countries have long been unsatisfactory. We should acquire the chief benefits of actual ownership without its disadvantages. Additional capital would be attracted to Mexico and Central America. Labor in those countries would meet with more remunerative and regular employment. Thus an antidote would be provided to restless insubordination and want of steady industry. Personal intercourse among the inhabitants of the different portions of the continent would be incalculably promoted. The attrition would destroy mutual prejudices. Migration would take place to and fro between distant regions. As the industry of the inhabitants of every part would be more amply remunerated, they would be enabled to buy more largely from each other. As the most advanced manufacturers on this continent, the chief share of increase in the sale of manufactured articles would accrue to us: but all would be benefitted. The cost of articles of tropical origin to the people of the United States and Canada would be diminished. Thus the cost of living and of production would be reduced; industry throughout the continent would be encouraged by the extension of our markets, and would be enabled better to compete abroad with other countries. No other course, so readily adopted, would tend so much to diffuse the ideas and industrial habits of the northern and most advanced nations of the world.

"The inhabitants of Canada are nearly homogeneous with those of the Northern States, and are accustomed to laws, traditions and institutions closely resembling our own; but Cuba, Mexico and Central America have populations unlike ours in race, language and education. Mexico has deplorably failed in attempts to copy our institutions, and the annexation of all these countries with the admission of their people, without preliminary training, to equal influence with our own citizens in the management of our own affairs is, at least, of questionable policy. But reciprocal trade with them stands upon a totally different basis, and could not fail to be beneficial to all the parties concerned."

He demonstrated that such a treaty with Spain as would ensure free admission into Cuba for our flour, other provisions, and various articles of manufacture, would be worth more than the fee simple of the island itself to the farmers and manufacturers and merchants of the United States; and that the commerce created by a similar arrangement with Mexico would benefit the manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania far more than the conquest or purchase of half the Mexican territory.

The agricultural productions of Canada are almost identical with those of the Northern States, but would be exchanged for our own manufactures, and for the products of warmer climates, in part those of our Southern States, and in part of regions yet further South, whose products would thus be brought through our territory, and afford employment and profit to our people.

Not a few narrow economists regard the prosperity of the United States as, in some way, a profit made at the cost of other nations, and of which they are naturally and reasonably jealous. General Ward clearly exposed the folly of this, the doctrine of the old Tory school of Great Britain, transplanted to the United States. He ranged himself on the side of those who, in this country, represent Cobden, Bright, Gladstone and other Liberal statesmen of the more grand and modern school, and showed that the liberal prosperity of the United States would continually react favorably in the nations of Europe, and not the least upon Great Britain, whose people are the most commercial of all. By such a customs' union as he advocated we would obtain all the material benefits of complete annexation, without the annoyances and dangers inseparable from admitting the

people of Mexico, Cuba and San Domingo to a participation in making the laws for governing us, or forcibly obtruding our ideas and institutions where they would not yet be welcomed, might not be advantageous; but the frequent intercourse necessarily arising from free commerce with them, and the mutual migrations between us and them, would tend to increased friendship among the people and a gradual assimilation of ideas and institutions.

In October, 1874, a week before the election, General Ward was nominated by the Democratic and Liberal parties for re-election to the House of Representatives, in the Eighth Congressional District, against John D. Lawson, Republican. In 1872, the District, as then constituted, gave Mr. Lawson 3,910 majority, and the last Legislature of New York State added a portion of another Assembly District to it, to render more certain the election of a Republican member of Congress; but General Ward overcame this large opposition majority, and was elected by 881 votes over his opponent, notwithstanding that General Dix, the Republican candidate for Governor, received 280 majority.

In the summer of 1875, General Ward, hoping to direct the attention of just and thoughtful men in both political combinations to such measures as would restore to a safe and harmonious basis the financial, commercial, and material interests of the nation, wrote an elaborate and comprehensive letter on "The Principles and Policy of the Democratic Party." It appeared first in the *New York World*, but was afterwards presented to the public in the form of a pamphlet. The changes he urged are those which, in the light of subsequent events, are now known to be essential to the harmony and prosperity of the people. He defined the first and chief requisite to be the enactment of such just laws as through reform of the civil service would afford the best and only permanent relief, by insuring integrity and justice in public affairs, and showed that when this vantage-ground is gained there will be less disagreement than was then commonly expected on the other leading topics of the times, including an honest currency, justice to the South, and

a liberal tariff alike favorable to the collection of revenue and the progress of commerce and manufactures. Pursuing this line of thought, he added :

True as it is to say that "honesty is the best policy," the essential truth has long been laid aside with many forgotten errors, and its practical application is alike the great need of the times and demand of the people. Through it only is the way to economy, diminished taxation, and renewed confidence and prosperity. In the end it will be found to include all other public necessities. Without it there can be no reliable reform, and the people will continue to be wronged either by commanding evil doctrines, or by intrigues robbing sound principles of their proper effect. Integrity in those who make our laws and manage public affairs is as useful to the well-being of the people as a firm footing and a pure atmosphere are to the progress and life of individuals.

In the same pamphlet he impartially reviewed the commercial and financial policy and errors of the government since the beginning of the war, so far as they afford lessons for future guidance. He urged the resumption of specie payments by such a gradual but certain progress as would prevent retro-action, and held that as the proper object of all legislation is the promotion of the public good rather than that of special and individual interests, the aim of all true citizens should be to separate the business of banking from the government, in whose hands it cannot long remain without creating such centralization and influences as are hostile to the spirit and perpetuation of republican institutions.

He also pointed out many of the abuses of the tariff created by special influences, which regarded the income of the government as secondary to personal interests, needlessly increased prices, and made almost impossible an exchange of various articles we were accustomed to export, besides impeding the exportation of many others. "Abuses of this kind have," he said, "gone on so long unchecked and encouraged that the financial leader of the majority in the House of Representatives, does not hesitate to denounce the whole system of taxation as controlled by the intrigues of rings and cliques, without regard to principles or the interests of the people. Obviously the tariff needs thorough revision and reform."

As an illustration of the pernicious effects of the tariff on the

trade and industry of our citizens, he pointed out that although in 1860 seventy-five or eighty per cent. of our foreign commerce employed American vessels, the proportions are now almost literally reversed, over seventy-two per cent. being carried in the vessels of other countries. The amount thus paid to the owners of foreign steamships for freight and passage-money in 1872 was \$134,742,441. His argument on this point was in substance that—

When such sums are paid annually, and as our ship-owners, sailors, and others formerly enjoyed the pre-eminence and chief profits in a trade now so nearly monopolized by foreigners, and of which our citizens are deprived by what are termed "protective laws," it is plain that a liberal and comprehensive change is needed in legislation, and that upon similar principles, judiciously applied, a strong stimulus could be given to the exports of many manufactures, and the additional labor employed in their production would increase the demand for agricultural products, and the home consumption of those manufactures to which the condition of our country is specially adapted.

To these remarks he added earnest recommendations of measures for the extension of reciprocal trade with Canada, Mexico, and Cuba.

When indicating the "best policy toward the South," Gen. Ward warmly condemned the spoliation to which the white people of the Southern States have been subjected by the aid of the former congressional majority and the federal office-holders, who, with their adherents and the support of their party at Washington, controlled elections, and tampered with the courts and usurped their power, neglecting nothing to foster and perpetuate pernicious enmity and strife between the two races. The restoration of concord and a true union can only be effected by fair-dealing and constitutional liberty, leaving all simply local and domestic matters to the people of the States. He expressed, in the following words, the leading truths now most prominent in the minds of all good and thinking citizens. He said:

One of the first objects in the Democratic Southern policy should be to destroy the political "color-line," which it has been the constant aim of those who had no desire for the welfare either of the white or colored race to intensify to the utmost. If the distinction should be perpetuated, and the colored people continue to be made the tools of those who maintain corrupt government, both at the South

and North, the ultimate result will be especially disastrous to those who, in comparison with the rest of the population of the Union, are in a small minority.

When the federal government ceases to interfere in the affairs of separate States, and is represented in the South by office-holders whose character will command respect and esteem, a complete and harmonious settlement of the political questions in those States will soon be attained. A lasting attachment to the Union will be insured when an administration fulfills the duty of making union a blessing.

One of the most marked characteristics of General Ward throughout his public life has been to study carefully and without prejudice the great principles and measures most conducive to the political and material benefit of the nation, rather than to participate in discussions on subjects of transient interest. In accordance with this line of conduct and aided by the results of long experience, he made before the Forty-fourth Congress several well considered speeches containing much information and argument of real and permanent importance. As a member of the Committee on Commerce, he was the author of many valuable reports. Prepared by his observations and reflections during many previous years, he entered with renewed zeal and vigor upon his duties in the national legislature.

On the 29th of January, 1876, deeply impressed by the embarrassment of commercial and manufacturing interests throughout the nation, and believing that until the monetary policy of the Government is permanently settled there can be no real renewal of national prosperity, he delivered an able and exhaustive speech on the financial problem. His remarks have the more force and weight, as he himself had been a member of Congress during the periods when the gravest errors on this subject were committed, and had duly protested and recorded his vote against them.

He briefly reviewed the unwillingness or failure of many leading statesmen at the beginning of the war to comprehend its real magnitude, and their repeated prophecies that it would end in a few weeks. The inevitable result was, that as the character of the impending dangers was not understood, the military and pecuniary

measures needed to meet them were not undertaken with due promptitude. The policy of deluding by makeshift expedients, instead of following the standard of the real and permanent good of the public as fixed by immutable natural laws, was too conducive to the personal and partisan interests of those in power to be readily abandoned. A vain confidence in the passage of resolutions and the imaginary power of legislation took the place of reason. The Government, which should have guarded the banks carefully, so that a public knowledge of their strength might have insured confidence, and kept up the value of the currency, persisted in drawing their gold and scattered it until it could neither be lent over again in sufficient quantities, or made available as a reserve for the banks. Suspension followed soon after the meeting of Congress at its first regular session.

The next error indicated in the speech was the authorization by the Government, on the 25th February, 1862, of a large issue of "legal tender" receivable "for all debts except duties on imports and interest on the public debt." Thus, for the first time in history, a government discredited its own paper by practically proclaiming its inferiority to specie. He exposed also the inglorious and suicidal attempt to raise loans during the war at an interest of five per cent., the arbitrary addition of fifty per cent. to the duties on imports for sixty-three days, and the bill prohibiting time contracts for the sale of gold, which was found to be so pernicious that it was repealed in fifteen days after its passage—a series of financial errors through which a debt of war of \$2,800,000,000 was incurred, although the value received was probably not more than forty cents on the dollar for all the expenditures of the war.

In the various compositions of General Ward, few paragraphs contain any superfluous thought or expression, and each is so essentially a part of the whole discussion that there is great difficulty in abridging his arguments or selecting from his facts. This is nowhere more apparent than in his speech on Finance, where he most succinctly reviewed the causes of the panic of 1874,

and, by an exhaustive summary of the chief historical precedents, and the illustration of comprehensive principles, demonstrated the folly of attempting to compel the people to take irredeemable paper at par with coin.

The necessity of one universal and uniform standard of values has, perhaps, seldom been more simply and clearly shown than in the following paragraph :

In the minds of many men affairs of state are surrounded with a confusing mystery, as if the principles of ordinary facts and common sense could not be applied to them. Yet it is plain that trade in grain of any kind would be placed under such enormous disadvantages as to render it almost impossible if the bushel measure of to-day might be larger or smaller to-morrow from causes the farmer or merchant could not foresee and altogether independent of their control. The dealers in textile fabrics, and in land itself, would be in strange predicaments if the yard and the foot were subject to great and frequent variations, and might represent at one time little more than a third of their measure at another. Yet the obstacle which has been thrown in the way of the trade and prosperity of the country is almost exactly of the same nature. The "legal-tender" dollar at one time was worth little more than a third of the true dollar, and it continually changes from day to day, making trade uncertain and values of all kinds doubtful. No man knows when he rises what they may be that morning, or when he goes to his place of business what they may be before the sun sets.

In conclusion General Ward said, and subsequent events have proved the truth of his assertion, that we have now arrived at the period when inflation no longer inflates, that in the body politic and financial as in the human body, there is a point where the power of stimulants ceases and can no longer prevent collapse. There is a great shrinkage in business, and no important revival can be expected until a new financial system which will deserve and receive public confidence is fairly begun. He suggested as a practical remedy the monthly purchase and cancellation of some definite amount of legal tender notes, the means of purchase being provided by the sale of bonds bearing the lowest practicable rate of interest. Business being thus adjusted upon the new basis, confidence would return, and with it prosperity would prevail.

During the first session of the Forty-fourth Congress, a treaty of commerce with the Hawaiian Islands having been advised in the

Senate by the triumphant success of fifty-one against twelve votes, was brought before the House for its approval and appropriate legislation. The measure was met by strong opposition from the ultra-protectionists. General Ward gave it his earnest support, and the majority by which it passed was materially increased through his efforts. The broad view he urged upon Congress was that under the policy which had for many years controlled the legislation of this country the industry of the people had been unduly diverted to manufacturing pursuits. Over-production and a want of employment resulted. Hence it was incumbent on the national legislation to do whatever might fairly be in its power to open or extend our markets abroad. As this was one of the direct results which would be accomplished by the proposed treaty, he held that it should be supported by the representatives of the people without distinction of party. He believed, also, that it would create an increased demand, not only for our manufactures, but also for our agricultural productions, most of which are essentially different from those of the islands, and that the mutually beneficial exchange would be effected by our own sailors and ships, thus giving another impetus to our national progress. He expressed the sound and too often forgotten truth, that although a diminution of revenue in some items might follow such removal of duties as would be required by the treaty, the money thus permitted to remain in the pockets of our citizens would be spent on other articles, many of them yielding revenue to the Government, or be reinvested in industrial pursuits productive of the prosperity and wealth which are the surest sources of national income, and enable the people to pay necessary taxes without repining.

Regarding a ship-canal through the American isthmus as practicable, and its completion as only a question of time, and confident that its advantages will benefit the people of this country far more than those of any other, he pointed out the importance of maintaining the most friendly and intimate relations with the Hawaiian Islands. In a naval and military point of view, many of our high-

est authorities have repeatedly warned us not to permit the Islands to pass into the hands of any foreign power, and this they were likely to do if the House refused to sanction the proposed treaty. Yet he chiefly desired the measure should be adopted in the hope that it might be the precursor of more extensive and beneficial arrangements with Mexico, Cuba, and Canada. "Such a treaty," he said, "with Spain, as would entail free admission of our flour, other provisions, and various articles of manufacture into Cuba, would be worth more than the fee-simple of the island itself to the farmers and manufacturers and merchants of the United States; and the commerce created by a similar arrangement with Mexico would benefit the manufacturers of New England and Pennsylvania far more than the conquest or purchase of half the Mexican territory."

The course General Ward would take in the debate as to the distribution of the funds awarded to the United States by the tribunal of arbitration at Geneva for the claims generally known as the Alabama claims, might have been readily inferred by those who knew his personal character. To him it seemed a matter of course that the plain and common rules of honesty and fair dealing are as obligatory in arbitraments between nations as between individuals. In a speech made before the House of Representatives, on the 23d of May, 1876, he showed incontrovertibly that the award was made for specific claims which were admitted, while others were no less unequivocally excluded. Thus the application of the money became a matter of right not changeable at will by Congress. He reviewed with candid brevity the proceedings of the tribunal, and the principles of marine insurance, showing that the money awarded was in part paid for companies whose claims were admitted to be just, and who had confided them to the Government of our country as their best and truest trustee. A majority of the Judiciary Committee had recommended that priority should be given to other demands of vague amount and at least questionable validity.

In conclusion he made the following summary of his narrative and argument:

The duty of the Government is plain and simple. Having received the money as the value of private property, it is bailee or trustee for the owners. Repudiation of the trust or bailment by any individual under the same circumstances would be severely punished in a court of justice. The nation cannot be sued, but it is therefore so much the more firmly bound by higher considerations of right and policy to render no less justice than the private trustee would be constrained to do. All fair consideration of this subject leads to the same conclusions. The only just claim on the part of the Government is the one per cent. interest, the difference between what it has paid and received. This is fairly its right, and should be covered into the Treasury.

The Government ought freely and promptly to submit all claims upon which the award was based to proper audit before the distributing tribunal, where they can be heard upon their merits and decided in accordance with the principles of legal right. No other course will afford substantial or valid protection to the National Treasury, and any indirect or arbitrary procedure cannot fail to disgrace our country in the estimation of the whole civilized world.

From 1864 until the return of General Ward to Congress in 1875, the consideration of our trade with Canada received little more than nominal notice. Firmly convinced that there is no more obvious remedy for the present depression of our manufactures and trade, nor any more sure foundation of our prosperity in all time to come, than an extension of our commercial relations with the adjacent countries, he took an early opportunity of again directing attention to it, soon after he had taken his seat in the Forty-fourth Congress. Various memorials from the National Board of Trade, and other public bodies in New York, Massachusetts, and elsewhere having been referred to the House Committee on Commerce, he presented an able report from the sub-committee in whose hands they had been placed. In pursuance of the views he had previously advocated, he offered a joint resolution providing for the appointment of commissioners to confer with similar commissioners appointed by Great Britain, and ascertain on what basis a mutually beneficial treaty between the United States and Canada can be negotiated. On the 18th of May, 1876, he supported this policy in a speech replete with interesting and comprehensive sta-

tistics and irrefutable arguments, eliciting warm approbation from thoughtful members on both sides.

He tersely but graphically described the climate and resources of the Dominion, from the fisheries of Newfoundland and Labrador to the Pacific Ocean. Three-fourths of the people of the Dominion inhabit a territory ~~to the~~ of our boundaries in Maine and Minnesota, and intervening between many of our Eastern and Western States. Nearly the whole of the British North American possessions on the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains is dependent on the railroads, canals, rivers, and other means of communication in the United States, for the shortest routes to the ocean. Yet more: the great natural and permanent system of exchanges is between the North and South, their productions being separately distinct, and modern civilization having rendered them practically necessities of life to the people of each region. "In fact," he said summarily, "the commercial relations of our Northern, Northwestern, and Eastern States with the Dominion of Canada, if left simply and without obstruction to the practical test of benefits or profits given and received by the people of both countries, would be more close and intimate than those between most parts of the Union."

Having fully demonstrated the benefits that would result from free exchanges between the United States and Canada, General Ward pointed out the chief obstacles to any fair, mutually advantageous and complete arrangement of reciprocity between the two countries. As the most effective remedy he suggested a modified application of the principles of the German Customs-Union, but did not limit his advocacy to the exclusive recommendation of any special plan.

He demonstrated that the "balance in our favor," as it is called, merely shows that we expel to an enormous extent the trade in grain, flour, and provisions to other countries from our shipping, railroads, elevators, and warehouses, with incalculable injury to all classes of our people, and force it into Canadian channels. In

view of the early opening of new or enlarged canals in Canada, this subject acquires peculiar importance. The question is not only whether we shall exchange our manufactures for food and raw materials, but whether we shall divert inland trade in our own agricultural productions to a foreign route.

In conclusion he said :

The principles I am desirous of seeing brought into active use are simply those expressed nearly a century ago by Girard, Franklin, Dean, and Lee in a treaty of commerce between France and the United States, in which they, on the part of this country, agreed to avoid "all those burdensome prejudices which are usually sources of debate, embarrassment, and discontent," and to take as the "basis of their agreement the most perfect equality and reciprocity," "founding the advantage of commerce solely upon reciprocal utility and the just rules of free intercourse." Thus all petty, acrimonious debates as to whether one party would make more or less than the other, would cease. All would be merged in considerations of plain and palpable benefit as far as it is between States and individuals in the Union.

It is undeniable that the government and people of Canada are desirous of meeting in a friendly and liberal spirit whatever efforts we may make toward extending our trade with them. Thus apparently the means of benefiting a large and suffering portion of our population are open to us by giving them employment through an extended market for their productions. How much this is needed may be estimated from the statement of the Secretary of the Treasury in his annual report, that our domestic exports to all countries decreased in value \$70,149,321 last year. By opening trade with Canada we should also furnish our people with a more abundant supply of the necessities of life and some of the materials for manufactures. The purpose of the resolutions now under consideration is simply to ascertain, after full and careful investigation by intelligent citizens of the United States, how far and through what measures we can best bring into actual practice the opportunities which are placed within our reach by the circumstances of the times and by immutable nature, or rather by Providence itself.

In the same session General Ward directed the attention of the Committee on Commerce and the House of Representatives to needed reform in various particulars of the bill relating to merchant seamen, and known as the "Shipping Act of 1872." It was framed and passed through the exertions of benevolent persons who had duly observed that our commerce suffered from the want of enactments duly protecting sailors, and that their condition in our seaports was one of great injustice to them and other citizens, and disgraceful to the country. In a speech made on the 1st

of June, he earnestly delineated the evils existing before the passage of the bill.

While he duly and gladly set forth the marked improvement in the condition of seamen in various ports, and that ship-owners, many of whom were at first opposed to the law, had found benefit from some of its provisions, he felt it his duty to urge several judicious and well-considered amendments, necessary to carry out fully the benevolent intentions of those who originated the act. Their main object had been to provide an officer or shipping commissioner to see that no foul play is practised on the seaman or his employer in the engagement or discharge of crews. The vital necessity of making the shipping commissioners duly responsible had been neglected, and it was found that in several instances, notably in the city of New York, they perverted the powers entrusted to them, and were virtually and practically "a law unto themselves." Gross favoritism and nepotism in the selection of subordinates had prevailed, salaries and rents had been shamefully extravagant, and the object of the appointees had appeared to be rather to discover how all the money collected could be absorbed than to perform services efficiently and faithfully.

The chief amendment he proposed was to remove the power of appointing the shipping commissioners from the several circuit courts to the Secretary of the Treasury, since the courts, however desirous of being impartial, can scarcely be fair judges between strangers and those appointees whom they have selected either from friendship or confidence. The Committee on Commerce was unanimously in favor of the amendments, which were thirteen in number; many urgent letters and petitions in their favor were received from various parts of the country. They met with opposition prompted by various motives, but ultimately prevailed, and were passed in the House of Representatives.

In October, 1876, a few days before the election, General Ward was again nominated in the Eighth Congressional District for re-election to the House of Representatives. The opposing candi-

date was General Anson G. McCook. The district being strongly republican, strenuous and unusual efforts were made, and General Ward was defeated, although he received more than two thousand votes over his previous majority.

In the second session of the Forty-fourth Congress General Ward renewed his efforts for the extension of our commercial relations with Canada. Since his previous speech the chief mercantile bodies throughout the Northern States had passed resolutions commending his exertions, and earnestly urging the appointment of such commissioners as he had proposed. The National Board of Trade is an association which attracts to its counsels leading merchants and manufacturers from all parts of the Union, and includes alike among its members free-traders and protectionists, and many even of the latter had most cordially endorsed his views. The Boston Board of Trade, representing a people depending largely for their success and subsistence upon being able to manufacture cheaply, thought, and none can contradict them, that the success of manufacturing industry depends not only in making sales, but in supplying the prime necessities of life, fuel and food, to the laboring population at the lowest practicable cost, and that the most ready alleviation of the present distress is to be found in increasing the sales of manufactures to our neighbors and the supply of raw materials from them. The leading commercial associations in the city and State of New York also zealously advocated the views thus presented. General Ward expressed the same principles in the broadest and most comprehensive sense, showing that an extension of our trade with Canada is of no more importance to the New England States and New York than to the Western and Central States, and that if such a continental system as he desires were established, no cities would be stimulated by it more beneficially than St. Louis and Chicago.

He made a strong appeal to the House on the ground that, having already sanctioned the treaty for the extension of our trade with remote islands in the Pacific, it was incalculably a greater duty to

remove needless restrictions on any business with our next-door neighbors on the North. From every possible point of view our relations with the Hawaiian Islands sink into absolute insignificance when compared with those between the United States and the Dominion of Canada. The comparatively small portion of the Canadian territory southerly from the northern boundaries of Maine and Minnesota would, if extended south from Detroit for a distance equal to its eastern side, reach nearly to Tallahassee or the Gulf of Mexico. He graphically described the injurious results which would follow if such a region under alien laws intervened between the Atlantic and the Western States, thus showing in a clear light the evils to all concerned from the commercial isolation of Canada. Her population will be computed by the hundred of millions, and her friendship, in a military point of view, is not only more important to us than that of the Hawaiian Islands, but of any other power whatever on either side of the Atlantic. He showed by official statistics that our exports to Canada in 1876 were at least fifty times as large as those to the Hawaiian Islands. According to the best authorities, the exports of our own cotton manufactures alone to Canada were twice as large as all those of every kind added together to the Hawaiian Islands. The exports of our cotton manufactures to Canada in the same year amounted to \$1,591,844, and those of iron and steel to no less than \$6,833,649. It was unnecessary to enter into further details. "It would," he said, "be useless to argue those who do not see that such a market for our manufacturers should receive attention and encouragement from every true friend of the people." As the prices of agricultural productions depend mainly on those in foreign markets, it is suicidal to many of our mercantile, manufacturing and carrying interests, and beneficial to no other, to charge duties on them. Referring to these considerations, General Ward said:

When our ports were open to the free admission of Canadian wheat our forwarders and merchants and their employés reaped the profits. There was also a local benefit to our millers and many communities. Thus, when I speak of a liberal

policy, I do not mean that of self-destruction or sacrifice of our own interests, but one in which the benefits of mutual profit are recognized, a belief with which the issues of individual and national well-being are most intimately connected, and in which that short-sighted view—the most pernicious and perhaps the most common of all political errors—that the gain of one man or nation must be the loss of another, is discarded.

He briefly reviewed the results of the commercial treaty between England and France, showing that no cause has contributed more powerfully to the marvellous recuperation of France, and that one of its results has been a warmer and more durable friendship than ever before existed between the two nations. The leading commercial bodies of Canada, her Minister of Customs, and present Governor-General have formally signified their readiness to do their part in endeavoring to arrange a commercial treaty which will be mutually satisfactory to both countries, whenever the Government of the United States will appoint a commission for that purpose.

Increased enlightenment has effected a silent revolution in the relation of the colonies and the mother-country. The practical rights of self-government, only obtained by the United States through war, have been quietly and voluntarily conceded to Canada, and the belief has become more and more prevalent in Great Britain that the means by which she can most securely and profitably derive the elements of real prosperity from her colonies is by permitting them to direct their industry into those channels which their natural position and advantages indicate as the most remunerative. If we, in the plenitude of our power and in the present age, refuse even to consider by what means our trade with Canada can be extended with mutual benefit to the people of both countries, we follow the evil example set us in a more aggravated form by Great Britain in the early days of our own history.

General Ward held that, as in population and power the United States are the first nation on the American continent, it is our duty to ourselves and others to take the lead in giving practical development to the bounties which Providence has placed within our

reach, and that of all affairs of foreign policy the opportunity of cheapening the materials of our manufactures and extending our markets is the most important.

There is little doubt that the appointment of commissioners as thus proposed would have been approved by the House of Representatives, and that a most valuable advance in our relations with Canada would have been effected if the exciting discussions regarding the Presidential count had not supervened and temporarily postponed consideration of all subjects except those of immediately urgent concern.

The expediency or necessity of converting bullion and the gold and silver currency of other countries into our national coin at New York has from time to time for nearly half a century been urged by leading statesmen, irrespective of party or the locality of their residences. Soon after resuming his seat in Congress General Ward introduced a bill providing for it, but the committee to whom it was referred having omitted reporting thereon he took an opportunity, on the 1st of February, 1877, of bringing the subject once more to the attention of the House and the country. He regarded the removal of unnecessary, expensive, and unjust obstacles to the conversion of the precious metals into the coin of our own country as one of the most important means of aiding in the restoration of specie payments. Since the establishment of the Assay office in New York, the direct and needless expense actually incurred through the transportation of bullion to Philadelphia for coinage exceeded \$200,000, besides a waste of time, and other inconveniences. There has seldom been under our government any more flagrant mistake of the power of habit and established patronage in resisting a most needful conformity to the requirements of the times.

The imports and exports of New York in 1874 and 1875, as compared with those of all other ports in the United States, were almost exactly in the proportions of seven to five. The difference in the value of foreign imports alone is yet more striking, and as the government depends on them for that part of the

revenue which is collected in coin, the comparison is especially important and suggestive. In 1874 and 1875 the imports at New York were almost twice as large as at all the other ports added together. He showed by precise statistical demonstrations that as New York is the commercial, so also is it the monetary centre of the Union. The capital employed in banking in the State is more than twice as large as that of any other State except Massachusetts. Apart from the regions of the Rocky Mountains and on the Pacific Coast, nearly all the gold and silver bars made and issued in the United States in 1875 and 1876 were made in the Assay office in New York, the relative proportions having been in 1875 more than twenty to one, and in 1876 more than forty-five to one. He said :

It may be argued that the impediments to coinage, by compelling the citizens of the centre of the exchanges of the Union to carry their specie to and fro for hundreds of miles, are to some extent removed by modern facilities for rapid transit; but, whatever the cost thus incurred for freightage may be, it is to that extent a tax, primarily upon New York, but ultimately upon the nation, and an obstacle to its foreign and domestic trade. In our commercial system bullion and coin, the representatives of value and current circulation among all nations, pass and repass to and from New York as the blood in the human system tends toward the heart and is then distributed again.

In conclusion, General Ward quoted from the published statements of the Director of the Mint and Supervising Architect, that the present Assay office in New York and the land on which it is erected would sell for more than sufficient to purchase a new and better site and erect thereon a suitable structure, more spacious and better adapted, he had no doubt, for the work to be done in it, and also to provide the room and outfit necessary for coinage. Thus, without charge to the national Treasury, arrangements might be made for giving the people of the country ample facilities for coinage at that port where they would be incomparably more conducive to the national welfare than they can be at any other place on this side of the continent. He earnestly urged the change on the ground of economy as well as of justice.

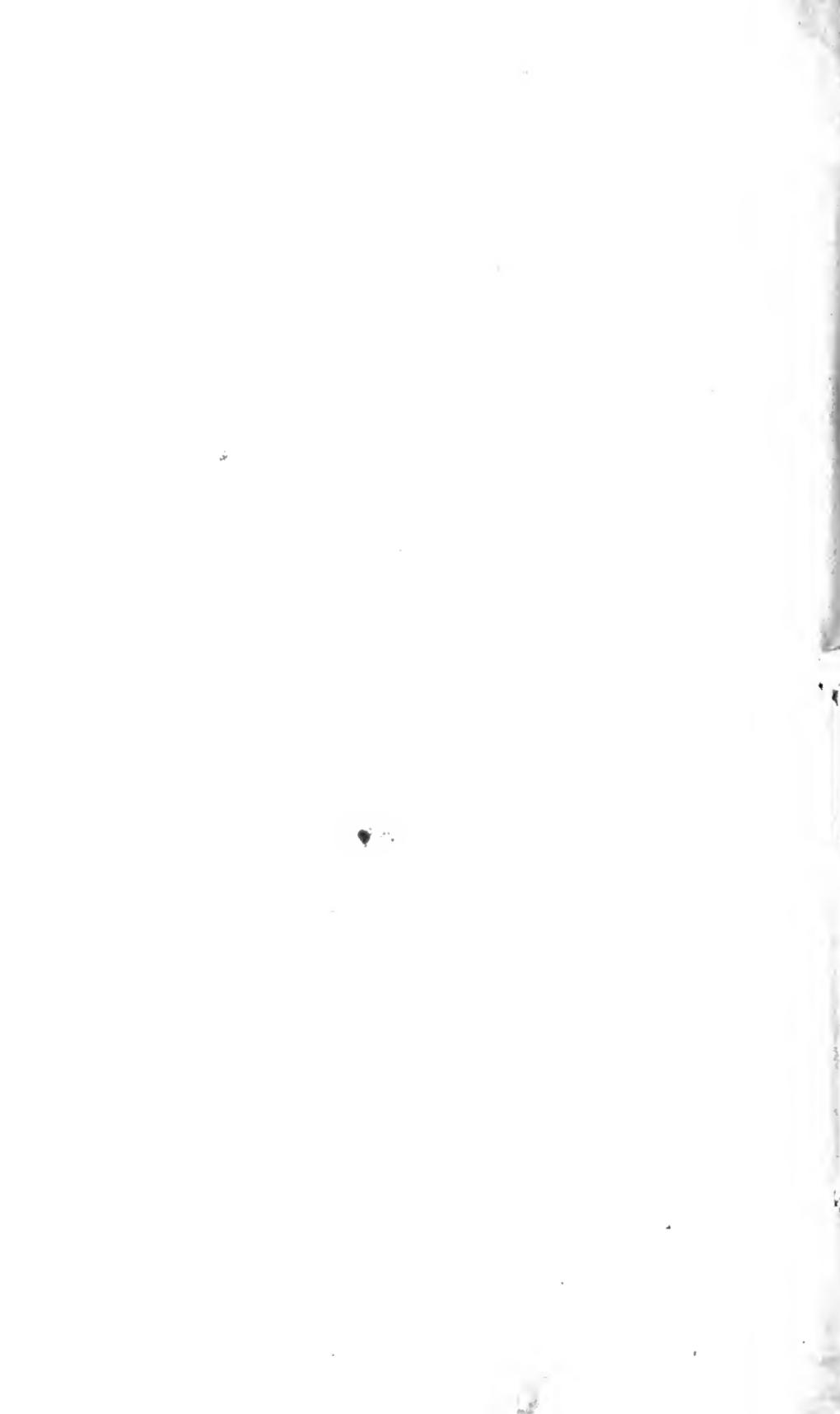
The successful career of General Ward throughout his public life is primarily owing to a spirit of self-reliance and decision, strengthened by obstacles, moderated by an unfailing generosity not ostentatious, but springing from the heart, and aided by a ready tact acquired through early and familiar intercourse with men of every vocation. He has the advantages of a clear judgment, and a self-control seldom disturbed. None know better than he the wondrous power in seeming trifles, how much the right word, look, or tone can accomplish. There is no effort in his courtesy; all his manner is easy, unaffected, ardent, and in marked contrast with that of the many men of distinction, who are conscious that the best security for their reputation and imaginary greatness consists in keeping others at a safe distance. Endowed by nature with rapid, acute and accurate perceptions, he is one of the best judges of character, and, while despising pretensions, has in an unusual degree the rare and happy power of bringing out the best qualities of those with whom he is associated. He has few enemies and many warm personal and public friends. The causes which laid the foundation of his personal popularity furnish also the key to the characteristics which led him to further distinction. He always deprecated dissensions in his own party, and strove to moderate the strife between it and its opponents, so as to establish a common ground on which all well-meaning and reasonable men might meet.

Although, when he was a member of Congress, he was often in the minority, and opposed to the administration of the time, he never ceased to have, with the leading officers of state, a personal influence, which he freely used on behalf of his constituents, without inquiring too closely into their relations as partisans. This liberality has been honorably reciprocated towards him, both by individuals and the press. Educated in business pursuits, he keeps closely to the point under discussion, and deals with facts, not merely with theories. At all times he is ready to exert himself in urging legislative relief for the sufferers; and throughout his many

speeches on financial reforms and commercial subjects, he uses the results of his varied experience and study in constant application of the principle that all legitimate interests are harmonious. Few have done more to guide aright the opinions of thinking men. In public as in private life, he shrinks from nothing more than falsehood or equivocation in word or spirit. Whenever time permits, his speeches are carefully prepared, and characterized by a candid condensation of solid and comprehensive information, expressed in language at once simple and forcible. If it is not his peculiar gift to arouse, agitate, and control the passions of his hearers, none of his copeers in Congress excelled him in such persuasive presentations, even of the most intricate subjects, as carry conviction to the mind, and bear the test of reflection, in the conscientious discharge of the duties of a thoroughly practical statesman, or in vigilance and devotion to the true and permanent interests of his constituents and countrymen.

THE END.







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